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THE  
**R I G H T S**  
OF THE  
**Christian Church**

ASSERTED,  
Against the ROMISH, and  
all other PRIESTS who claim  
an Independent Power over it.

WITH  
A PREFACE concerning the  
Government of the CHURCH of  
ENGLAND, & by Law Establish'd.

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PART I.

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The Third Edition Corrected.

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*No Man can serve two Masters, Mat. 6. 24.*

*A Kingdom divided in it self cannot stand, Mark 13. 24.*

*Humani Juris & Naturalis Potestatis unicuique quod  
putaverit colere. Tertul. ad Scap.*

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LONDON, Printed in the Year 1707.

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# THE PREFACE

I. **N**othing is more disputed at present, than who is the best Church man, both High and Low Church laying claim to it; and therefore it can't be doubted but both will approve my Design in setting this Dispute in a fair Light, and shewing what is meant by the Church of England as by Law establish'd: wherein I shall make it appear that they who raise the greatest Noise about the Danger of the Church, are the greatest Enemies to it, by asserting such Notions as undermine both Church and State, and are in direct opposition to the Principles of the Reformation; and that they mean some other Church

A 2 besides



besides the Church of England, which being establish'd by Acts of Parliament, is a perfect Creature of the Civil Power; I mean the Polity and Discipline of it, and 'tis that which makes all the Contention: for as to the Doctrines express'd in the Articles, I don't find High Church to be in any manner of pain; but they who lay claim to most Orthodoxy can distinguish themselves out of them.

2. Tho the 36th Canon expressly commands the Clergy to subscribe the Articles willingly and ex animo, and to acknowledg all and every Article to be agreeable to the Word of God; and tho the 13th of Eliz. c. 12. obliges every Benefic'd Clergyman to make a Declaration of his unfeigned Assent; and the Title of the Articles, which shews the Intent of the Imposers, is, that they were agreed on in Convocation for avoiding Diversities of Opinions, and for establishing Consent touching true Religion: Yet for all this it has obtain'd with High Church, that they are not Articles of Belief, but of Peace; and that their subscribing 'em is not to be consider'd as a Declaration of their Opinion, but as a bare Obligation to Silence, which yet they break every day with relation to the Articles concerning Predestination, Election, &c. And if Men of opposite Sentiments can

## The Preface.

can subscribe the same Articles, they are as much at liberty as if there were none. The late Bishop of Worcester affirms, Vindic. of the Doctr. of the Trin. Pref. p. 21. that a Man might be very right in the Belief of an Article, tho mistaken in the Explication of it; which is supposing it sufficient for Men to agree in Sounds, tho they ever so much differ about the Meaning of 'em. And one wou'd think it was no small Crime with High Church to put any Meaning at all upon 'em, since they rail so much at the Bishop of Sarum for presuming to write an Exposition of 'em. These Men treat the Articles as they do the Oath of Allegiance, which they say obliges 'em not actually to assist the Government, but to do nothing against it; that is, nothing that wou'd bring 'em to the Gallows: So the Articles are sufficiently kept, if nothing is said against 'em, which endangers their Preferences.

If then these Mens Zeal is chiefly, if not wholly confin'd to the maintaining of the establish'd Government and Polity of the Church, 'tis to be hop'd they will not condemn me for shewing that the Doctrine of Two Independent Governments, one belonging to the Clergy by Divine, the other to the King and Parliament by Human Right, is inconsistent with the Constitution of the Establish'd Church: Which

before I attempt, it will be necessary to shew what is contain'd in the Idea of Government.

3. It wou'd be in vain for one Intelligent Being to pretend to set Rules to the Actions of another, if he had it not in his power to reward the Compliance with, or punish the Deviations from his Rules, by some Good or Evil, which is not the natural Consequence of those Actions; since the forbidding Men to do or forbear an Action on the account of that Convenience or Inconvenience which attends it, whether he who forbids it will or no, can be no more than Advice. All Government therefore supposing a Legislative Power, if the Clergy have the Government of the Church by Divine Right, they must have the same Right to make what Laws they judg conducive to the Good of the Church, in determining all such Matters as they judg can't conveniently remain undetermin'd; or, in other words, applying the general Rules of the Gospel, as the Magistrate does those of Nature, to particular Things and Persons: and consequently they must have all that's necessary to Legislature, as assembling when and where they please, sitting as long as they think fit, &c. And as they alone can make Ecclesiastical Laws, so they alone can suspend or repeal 'em; and a Divine Right to make Laws, supposes



poses the same Right to put 'em in execution, and consequently all that's necessary to that End. And because this Government is to be continu'd from Age to Age, they must have a Right to convey to others the same Power they themselves enjoy. And since these three things are essential to any Government that's to last above an Age, we shall consider the Constitution of the National Church as to each of 'em. And,

4. First, as to a Legislative Power, if that belongs to the Clergy by Divine Right, it must be when they are assembled in Convocation: but the 25 H. 8. c. 19. is a Bar to any such Divine Right, because that Act makes it no less than a Præmunire for them so much as to meet without the King's Writ; and when they are met, they are ty'd up by the same Penalty from attempting to do any thing without the King's Licence first obtain'd; and afterwards no Resolution of theirs can have the Force of a Canon, unless the King is pleas'd to confirm it; nor is it even then valid, if it be contrariant to or repugnant to the Laws, Statutes, and Customs of this Realm, or be to the Damage or Hurt of the King's Prerogative Royal. And consequently, if the Laws of the Land are chang'd ever so often, all Canons are



0 Eliz.c.1.  
S.6.

utterly void which at any time are found inconsistent with them: and the Power of the Parliament reaches to the annulling of Canons, even in the most Spiritual Things; as when they enact that no Canon shall be good, which is contrary to the Form they establish for the Consecrating of Bishops. And if the Parliament can annul Ecclesiastical Laws, they must be able to make 'em, since no greater Power is requir'd for one than the other; and consequently the Convocation has no Power which is not deriv'd from and dependent on them, which they can abridg, curtail and annul as they think fit.

13 Car. 2.  
C. 12.

How otherwise cou'd they make all the Acts of a Convocation mere Nullitys, and the Clergy liable to the severest Penalties, if they do not observe all those Forms and Methods they prescribe 'em in their Sitting and Acting? And if the Parliament did not think they had a Plenitude of Power in this matter, they wou'd not have damn'd all the Canons of 1640. nor declar'd no other Ecclesiastical Laws or Canons to be binding, not formerly confirm'd, allow'd, or enacted by Parliament, or by the Establish'd Laws of the Land, as they stood in 1639.

Tacitus de  
Mor. Ger.

5. De Majoribus Omnes was a Fundamental amongst our Ancestors long before they arriv'd in Great Britain, and  
Matters

*Matters of Religion were ever reckon'd among their Majora : and all the Laws in the Saxon and British Times which concern'd the whole Church, were, as our Historians testify, made by the same Power which made the Temporal Laws, and put in execution by the same Persons. The tearing the Ecclesiastical Power from the Civil was the cursed Root of Antichrist ; those Powers were not distinct till the See of Rome got the Ascendant, and without that the Canon Law cou'd never have broke in upon us : Then, and not till then, did the Clergy attempt to bind the Laity by Laws they never consented to ; but their Design was never brought to Perfection. For tho the Ecclesiastical and Civil Courts were divided in William the Conqueror's Time, yet during his and several of his Successors Reigns, as is shown from undeniable Authoritys by Mr. Washington, there were no Laws enacted concerning Religion, but by the great Council of the Kingdom : nay, the determining who shou'd be acknowledg'd for Pope in the Schisms that happen'd in the Reigns of William Rufus, Henry II. and Richard II. (which one wou'd think was purely Ecclesiastical) was not left to the Clergy, but settl'd by Parliament, and Laws made to punish the Clergy who wou'd not own the Parliamentary Popes. And after this, even during the greatest Dark-*

*Observ. on the Eccles. Jurisd. of the Kings of England.*

*ness*

*ness and Superstition, this Notion of Liberty, that no Man ought to be bound by a Law he does not consent to, was so strongly engraven on our Ancestors Minds, that nothing cou'd efface it: and we find 'em often protesting, that this and t'other thing does not bind 'em, because done without their Consent; that they wou'd not be bound by any Ordinances of the Clergy without their Assent; that they wou'd no more subject themselves to the Clergy, than their Ancestors had done. And when by the abolishing of the Pope's Power things were brought back to their antient Channel, the Parliament's Right in making Ecclesiastical Laws reviv'd of course. And to suppose a Canon, which the Parliament has not confirm'd, or which has not obtain'd by long Use, can bind the People, is to make a Canon obligatory in defiance not only of Common and Statute Law, but of the very Constitution it self; of which from the very Beginning it has been a Fundamental, that the People are bound to no Laws but of their own chusing: and Christianity was never design'd for the subverting of our Constitution, or depriving Englishmen of their so much valu'd Liberty, in subjecting 'em to Laws they never consented to, by themselves or Representatives. And that the People are bound by no Laws or Canons, which*  
are

Rot. Parl.  
40 E.3. n.  
7, 8. Rot.  
Parl. 5 E.3.  
art. 46. Rot.  
Parl. 6 R.2.  
n. 62,



are not confirm'd by Parliament, or establish'd by the Law of long Use and Custom, is by the 21. of H. 8. c. 21. declar'd in as exprefs Words as can be.

How cou'd the Parliament, if the Convocation had a Divine Right to make Ecclesiastical Laws, enable both Henry 8. and Edward 6. to authorize thirty two Persons, half of 'em Laymen, to establish all such Ecclesiastical Laws as shou'd be thought by the King and them convenient to be us'd in all Ecclesiastical Courts, and that all other Canons shou'd be null and void? A Power greater than ever was trusted, at least since the Reformation, with any Convocation. And is it not to a Clause in the 25 of H. 8. c. 19. that all Ecclesiastical Laws now in use do owe their Establishment? Nay, the Convocation is so far from acting on the foot of a Divine Right, that the King's Injunctions have been taken ever since the Reformation to bind the Clergy equally with their own By-Laws or Canons: and accordingly we find that King Henry, King Edward, and Queen Elizabeth have enforc'd their Royal Injunctions by no less Penaltys than Suspension, Deprivation, and Incapacity. And the Bishop of Sarum shews us that the Crown for above 140 Years has been in possession of a Right of making use of a Convocation, or of settling

25 H. 8. c.  
19. 35 H.  
8. c. 16.  
27 H. 8. c.  
15. 31 E.  
6. c. 11. 2

Reflections  
on a Book,  
intitl'd,  
The Rights  
of an Engl.  
Convocat.

*settling Matters of Religion without it. So that the Clergy's Power seems not to be so great as that of every petty Corporation; for whom as our Kings can't make any By-Law, so what they make for themselves are binding, tho not consented to by the King, or without observing those Formalitys the Convocation is oblig'd to do.*

*And the Parliament, as they wou'd not suffer the Convocation to declare what is*

1 Elic.c. 1. *Heresy, so they enact that no Determina-*  
S. 36. *tion of theirs in Religion shall be ad-*  
S. 35. *judg'd Error, Schism or Heresy. And*

35 H. 8. *when they impower'd Bishops and Doctors*  
c. 16. *of Law to make Ordinances concerning*

*Religion and Faith, they limited 'em to such as were agreeable to the Laws of God*

*and the Nation; which shews, that as all the Power which these Men had was from*

*Them, so they reserv'd to themselves and their Ministers a Right to judg of their*

*Ordinances, whether they were agreeable to the Laws of God, as well as to those of*

*the Nation. Nay, the Parliament de-*

25 H. 8. *clares, that it standeth with Natural*  
c. 21. *Equiry and Good Reason, that the King, Lords and Commons have full*  
*Power and Authority not only to dis-*  
*pende, but to authorize some elect Per-*  
*son or Persons to dispense with all hu-*  
*man Laws of this Realm, and the said*  
*Laws and every one of them to abro-*  
*gate,*

gate, annul, amplify or diminish, as may to them seem meet and convenient, &c. And this they affirm appears plain and evident by divers Acts of Parliament made in the time of H. 8's Progenitors, as well as in his own time: which is as plain a Declaration as can be, that they esteem Theirs the sole Legislative Power, and that all other Power (that of the Convocation not excepted) is deriv'd from and dependent on them. And the Parliament's enacting Laws concerning Faith, Worship, Doctrines, Church-Government, ordaining and depriving Bishops, Priests, &c. and concerning Rites, Ceremonys, and all other Church-matters, fully shews that they did not think the making of Laws about those things belong'd by a Divine Right to another Legislative Power. Nay, the Clergy themselves, without disowning the Lawfulness of National Churches, must come into this Notion, because it does not depend on the Clergy, but upon the Sovereign National Powers, whether there shall be a National Church: And consequently the Legal Establishment of the Faith, the Worship, the Doctrinal Articles, the Discipline, the Rites and Ceremonys of the National Church, must be wholly owing to Them; since in all such matters, to which their Laws do not extend, no Church can be said to be National



or Establish'd by Law; and as far as the Magistrate establishes any thing, they are part of the Civil Constitution. And 'tis absurd to suppose that the Clergy of the National Church have an Independent or Legislative Power in such things as wholly depend on the Will of the Legislators, whether they shall belong to the Constitution of the National Church, which in every Country is differently fram'd according to the different Sentiments of its Sovereigns. And our Convocations must be Creatures of the Legislators, unless it cou'd be prov'd that Deans, Archdeacons, and Proctors for Chapters, who are 100 of the 138 that compose the Lower House of Convocation, have by Divine Right a Share in the making of the Laws of the National Church of England. And if a Convocation so model'd be of Divine Right, ours only can pretend to be so, since we have no Instance of any other National or Provincial Synod compos'd of two distinct Houses, one of Bishops, t'other of Presbyters.

6. This, I think, is sufficient to show that by the Constitution of our Church the Clergy are not suppos'd to have any Divine Legislature, because That must be superior to all Worldly Power: and then the Clergy might as well forbid the Parliament to meet, but when and where they please,  
and

and prorogue or dissolve 'em as they think fit; and not suffer 'em to treat or debate of the Subject Matter of any Law, without a previous Licence from the Archbishop; nor allow any Law to be valid till confirm'd by him, nor then neither if inconsistent with the Customs or Canons Ecclesiastical, or the Archiepiscopal Prerogative: Then they might as well appoint thirty two Persons, half Clergy, to examine the Laws of the Land, and abrogate or continue with the Consent of the Archbishop what Laws they think fit. This, I say, the Clergy, if Governors of the Church by Divine Right, might as well do with relation to the State, as the Civil Governors do the same with respect to the Church. And the only reason why the Clergy can't do this, is because Civil Power is not deriv'd from nor dependent on 'em.

7. The next thing to be consider'd is Jurisdiction, which is inseparably united to Legislation, because the Penalty is the Sanction of the Law; which Sanction wou'd be to no purpose, if they who enacted the Law had not a Power to execute it, and consequently a Right to erect Courts of Judicature, appoint Judges, and invest 'em with a sufficient Power to summon Witnesses, and to do every thing else necessary for convicting Offenders, in order to have the legal Punishments inflicted



on 'em. And whoever the Legislators entrust with doing this, are their Ministers, in putting their Will, the Laws, in execution: to which they can have only a precarious Right, dependent on the Pleasure of the Legislators, except where the Executive Power is lodg'd with one without whose Consent no Law can be made. But as no Bishop has a Negative, so whatever Jurisdiction any one of 'em is intrusted with, must be deriv'd from the Convocation, if the Legislative Power of the Church is in Them; to which he can have only a precarious Right depending on the Will of the Bishops and Presbyters, consider'd as two distinct Bodys that make up the Convocation: which not only puts the Presbyters upon a Parity with the Bishops in the highest Act of Church-Government, but likewise shews that all the Jurisdiction of the Bishops is as much deriv'd from the Lower as from the Upper House; since their Share in the Legislature, from whence all Jurisdiction results, is equal. But we do not find any Bishop or other Ecclesiastick pretend to have his Jurisdiction, either immediately or mediately, from the Provincial Synods of Canterbury or York: and then there's no other Legislature except that of King and Parliament, from whence any Jurisdiction, either Ecclesiastical or Civil,

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can be deriv'd. And as our Kings and Parliament have the sole Legislative Power, so they have trusted the Supreme Executive Power, in Ecclesiasticals as well as Civils, with the King or Queen, as appears by several Acts made in the Reigns of H. 8. Edw. 6. and Q. Eliz. of which I shall only mention two or three.

8. The 37 H. 8. c. 17. declares that  
" Archbishops, Bishops, Archdeacons, and  
" other Ecclesiastical Persons, have no  
" manner of Jurisdiction Ecclesiastical,  
" but by and under the King's Majesty,  
" the only undoubted Supreme Head of  
" the Church of England, to whom by  
" Holy Scripture Power and Authority is  
" given to hear and determine all manner  
" of Causes Ecclesiastical, and to correct  
" Vice and Sin whatsoever, and to all such  
" Persons as the King's Majesty shall ap-  
" point thereunto; and that all Laymen  
" being Doctors of Law, &c. being con-  
" stituted Chancellors, &c. by the King's  
" Majesty or Successors, or by any Arch-  
" bishop, Bishop, &c. may lawfully ex-  
" ercise and execute all manner of Juris-  
" diction commonly call'd Ecclesiastical, and  
" all Censures and Coercions appertain-  
" ing, or in any wise belonging to the same:  
" reciting withal, " that the Bishop of  
" Rome and his Adherents minding ut-  
" terly, as much as in them lay, to abo-  
" lish,

“ lish, obscure, and delete this Power given  
 “ to the Princes of the Earth, that there-  
 “ by they may gather and get to them-  
 “ selves the Government and Rule of the  
 “ World, had made divers Ordinances,  
 “ that no Layman shou’d or might exer-  
 “ cise or occupy any Jurisdiction Eccle-  
 “ siastical, lest their false and usurp’d  
 “ Power which they pretended and went  
 “ about to have in Christ’s Church, shou’d  
 “ decay, wax vile, and be of no Reputati-  
 “ on, &c. which being directly repugnant to  
 “ the King’s Majesty as Supreme Head of  
 “ the Church and Prerogative Royal, his  
 “ Grace being a Layman, and albeit the  
 “ said Ordinances are utterly abolish’d, yet  
 “ because the contrary is not put in prac-  
 “ tice, be it enacted, &c.

25 H. 8.  
 c. 19.

9. Tho the Clergy had own’d the Powers  
 here mention’d to be in the King, by re-  
 cognizing in their Convocations that he was  
 justly and rightfully Supreme Head of the  
 Church of England, as is suppos’d by 26  
 H. 8. c. 1. yet that Parliament adds, “ For  
 “ Corroboration and Confirmation thereof,  
 “ be it enacted that the Kings of this  
 “ Realm shall have full Power from time  
 “ to time to reform and correct all Errors,  
 “ Heresys, Enormitys, Offences, Abuses,  
 “ Contempts, whatsoever they be, which by  
 “ any manner of Spiritual Authority or  
 “ Jurisdiction ought or may lawfully be  
 “ reform’d.



"reform'd. And the Commission to  
 Cromwel, who as the King's Vicegerent <sup>31 H. 8.</sup>  
 in Ecclesiasticals was by Act of Parliament <sup>c. 10.</sup>  
 plac'd above the Archbishop of Canter-  
 bury, was as full and ample as Words  
 cou'd make it. And in the next Reign,  
 the Statute 1 Edw. 6. c. 2. recites, that  
 all Authority of Jurisdiction Spiritual  
 is drawn and deducted from the King's  
 Majesty, as Supreme Head of the  
 Churches of England and Ireland, and  
 so justly acknowledg'd by the Clergy of  
 these Realms. And this Act being re-  
 viv'd by 1 Jac. 1. c. 25. which repeals the  
 Repealer 1 M. c. 2. may be reckon'd a  
 new Parliamentary Acknowledgment of the  
 Regal Supremacy in that Reign. And  
 tho in Queen Elizabeth's Time the Title  
 of Supreme Head was chang'd into that of  
 Supreme Governor, yet by the first Act of  
 her Reign, intitl'd, An Act to restore  
 to the Crown the antient Jurisdiction  
 over the State Ecclesiastical and Spiri-  
 tual, it is establish'd and enacted, " That  
 " such Jurisdictions, Privileges, Supe-  
 " rioritys, and Preheminences Spiritual  
 " and Ecclesiastical, as by any Spiritual or  
 " Ecclesiastical Power and Authority have  
 " hitherto been, or may lawfully be exercis'd  
 " or us'd for the Visitation of the Eccle-  
 " siastical State and Persons, and for the  
 " Reformation, Order, and Correction of

“ the same, and of all manner of Errors,  
 “ Heresys, Schisms, Abuses, Offences,  
 “ Contempts and Enormitys, shall for ever  
 “ by Authority of this present Parliament,  
 “ be united and annex’d to the Imperial  
 “ Crown of this Realm. And such Zeal  
 did the Parliament shew for settling these  
 Powers in the Crown, that this Clause is  
 again repeated in 8 Eliz. c. 1. And to tie  
 the Clergy and all others to acknowledg this  
 Regal Spiritual Supremacy according to  
 the Extent and Meaning of it, in 1 Eliz.  
 c. 1. it is enacted, that for the better  
 Observation and Maintenance of this  
 Act, all that take Orders or Degrees in  
 the Universitys, and all that have any  
 Office under the Government, are to take  
 the Oath of Supremacy, in which they ac-  
 knowledg, that the Queen is Supreme  
 Governor in all Spiritual or Ecclesiastical  
 Things or Causes, and that they will to  
 their Power assist and defend all Juris-  
 dictions, Privileges, Preheminences and  
 Authorities granted or belonging to the  
 Queen, her Heirs and Successors, or  
 united or annext to the Imperial Crown  
 of this Realm. And as Queen Elizabeth  
 was invested with the same Power and Au-  
 thority her Brother and Father had, so the  
 same is continu’d down to this day, except it  
 be that the High-Commission Court, which  
 made the Prince Judg of Original Causes,  
 and

13 Car. 2.  
 c. 12.

and thereby prevented the Benefit of Appeals, is abolish'd : which yet does not, as that Act declares, abridg or diminish the King's Supremacy, or hinder but that all Spiritual Causes, which can be try'd by any Bishop or other Spiritual Person whatever, are finally determin'd by Judges delegated by the King, who exercise all manner of Ecclesiastical Censures, without having so much as any Priest to pronounce their Sentence. For how cou'd the Archbishop himself, or any by his Authority, pretend to pronounce a Sentence in a Cause which is appeal'd from him to a superior Judg? And shou'd the Delegates suffer this, they wou'd betray the Authority by which they act. And tho Bishops are sometimes join'd in Commission with the Common and Civil Lawyers, yet they seldom concern themselves till the final Sentence; all intermediate Acts being generally perform'd by the Civilians, who excommunicate for Non-appearance, or any other Contempt. And if the King can revoke any Spiritual Censures of the Bishops or Archbishops, or can excommunicate, suspend, or deprive them, or any other Ecclesiastical Persons; nay, can by his Proclamation pardon all Excommunication, and restore People to the Communion of the Church; it shews that there's no Branch of Spiritual Jurisdiction which is not vested in him, and



that all the Jurisdiction which the ArchBps, Bishops, or any other inferior Ecclesiastical Judges have, is deriv'd from him. Nay,

10. Had our Governors in the Popish Times thought that Bishops had a Divine Right to exercise Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, they wou'd never have presum'd to exempt Places from their Power; of which it wou'd be tedious to recite all the Instances.

Burnet's  
Hist. of the  
Ref. Par. 1.  
p. 142.

Davies  
Rep. 46.

6H.7.2.14.

The Abby of Glassenbury was exempted by King Ina, that of St. Albans by Offa, that of Abington by Kenulph King of Mercia, that of St. Edmondsbury by Kanute, and that of Battel by William the Conqueror: and all those Abbys which were of the King's Foundation, and all the King's Donatives, were subject only to the Visitation of the Lord Chancellor, or of special Commissioners appointed under the Great Seal. And if any private Person had the King's Licence to found a Free Chappel, it was exempted from Episcopal Jurisdiction, unless the Founders otherwise directed: and the Bishops who wou'd not allow those Exemptions, have for their Presumption been punish'd by the King's Temporal Courts; and tho the Clergy sometimes got the Pope's Bulls to confirm these Exemptions, yet they were never judicially allow'd here; nor cou'd any Person plead 'em without danger; nay, the pleading

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VIZ  
XXIII

a Pope's Bull of Excommunication was ad- 30 Ed. 3.  
judg'd no less than Treason by Common lib. Ass. X  
Law, before any Statute made it so. Pl. 19.

11. When Religious Houses were dis-  
solv'd, the Parliament impower'd H. 8. either 31 H. 8.  
to restore the Churches belonging to those C. 13.  
Houses, to the Jurisdiction of the Bishops;  
or to bestow 'em on any other: who pursuant  
to that Power deliver'd many of 'em to Lay-  
men, who there exercise Ecclesiastical Juris-  
diction. And none is thought incapable of  
this Trust, who is capable of any other Pos-  
session; it being, like all other Possessions  
and Inheritances, transmitted and assign'd  
according to the Rules of the Common Law.  
As here none has a Right to exercise any  
Acts of Ecclesiastical Power but the Lord,  
and under him his Steward; so in each of  
the Universitys, the Judge of the Court, who  
has Power to inflict Ecclesiastical Censures,  
is usually a Layman, and acts in the place of  
the Chancellor, who often is, and always  
may be a Layman, as both are now.

12. As the Ecclesiastical and Civil  
Courts were not distinct till William the  
Conqueror, so till then the Clergy cou'd  
not exercise any Independent Power. Nay,  
till King John's Time, all Appeals from  
the Archbishop were to the King's Court,  
according to the Statutes of Clarendon,  
which are frequently call'd, *Avitæ Con-*  
*suetudines Regni.* And when the Pope in

1172

70

71

S. H. 11

S. H. 11

Janus Ang.  
93. Speed  
457.

Foke 2,  
Inst. 623.

Henry 2's Time attempted to get Appeals to himself; and the King, as part of the Penance he was to do for killing the Traitor Becket, was forc'd to submit to it; the Nation wou'd not suffer it, but renew'd the Assize of Clarendon, and they who had appeal'd to Rome were to be outlaw'd if they did not in a certain time stare Juri in Curia Domini Regis. This Gervasius Dorobernensis, who well understood it, tells us was but renewing the Assize of Clarendon. And the Law has all along set the same Bounds to the Ecclesiastical as to the Civil Courts, both as to Persons and Things; and the Temporal Courts punish'd any Ecclesiastick who presum'd to exceed these Bounds. The Bishops cou'd not for any cause whatever excommunicate any of the King's Officers or Tenants, who were very numerous, without his Licence; or if they excommunicated any who by peculiar Privileges were exempt from Episcopal Jurisdiction, or for what the Common Lawyers judg'd to be a Temporal Cause, the Courts of Justice were open to receive the Complaints of those Persons, whom under pretence of a legal Prosecution they had injur'd. And there are many Precedents of Indictments prefer'd against Bishops on this account, who have been forc'd to make satisfaction to the Persons injur'd, Nay, our Lawmakers, in the dark-

est



est Times of Popery, trusted the judging of the most Spiritual Things with the Justices of Peace and Assize, whom by 2 H. 5. c. 7. they empower'd to enquire of certain Heresys, Errors, and Lollardies, which they specify'd, and to punish those they found guilty; by which the Parliament not only excluded the Clergy from judging what Heresy was, but suffer'd 'em not to be Instruments in reforming what they had pronounc'd such; so that they refus'd to submit themselves and the People to the Laws of the Clergy, but subjected the Faith of the Clergy to the Examination and Censures of Laymen. They suspected the Love of Power, natural to Churchmen, and their Holy Artifices to acquire and inlarge it beyond all bounds; and fear'd perhaps that if they trusted 'em with the Execution of this Law, they wou'd perfidiously abuse their Power to the Oppression of those who gave it 'em, of which they had as many Instances, as the Clergy had Trusts bestow'd on 'em. And if the Parliament, even in the very Height of Popery, prescrib'd to the Ecclesiastical Courts in what Causes they shou'd act, and against what Persons, and after what manner, and plac'd an over-ruling Power in the Temporal Courts to punish 'em if they exceeded those Bounds they set 'em; it shews they were Authors of the Laws by which both Courts acted, since only the Legislative Power

*Power can direct, order or prescribe to the Executive.*

*And if at the Reformation the Parliament invested the King with the Executive Power in all Spiritual Matters, must not the whole Legislature be in Them? And if the Clergy have no Spiritual Jurisdiction Independent of the King, they can have no Legislature; because they who have no inherent Right to execute the Laws, can have no Right to make the Laws. • So on the contrary, if they had a Divine Right to make Laws, they must have the same Right to execute 'em. And if in the Causes of Wills, Marriages, and such-like, the Clergy judg'd by an Authority deriv'd from the Laws of the Land; must they not from the same derive their Power to inflict Spiritual Censures in these Causes? — And if the 2 and 3 of Edw. 6. c. 13. enables the Ecclesiastical Judge to excommunicate in a Case in which he cou'd not do it before; and if the 5 and 6 E. 6. makes it lawful in a certain Case for the Ordinary (which supposes it was not so before) to suspend a Layman ab ingressu Ecclesiæ, and a Clerk from the Administration of his Office, the Parliament must be able to grant him such a Power. Nay, we find the Parliament has taken upon 'em to excommunicate: of which if the 3 Jac. 1. c. 5. which says, that whoever is con-  
vict*



vict of Recusancy shall stand and be reputed to all intents and purposes disabled, as a Person lawfully and duly excommunicated, as if he had been so denounc'd and excommunicated according to the Laws of this Realm, *be not a full Proof; yet certainly the 5 and 12 of Edw. 6. c. 4. is, which enacts, that if any Person shou'd strike, or lay violent hands on another in the Church or Church-yard, then ipso facto every one so offending shall be deem'd excommunicate, and be excluded from the Fellowship and Company of Christ's Congregation; and that every Person that draws a Weapon to strike another, be and stand ipso facto excommunicated. And if in this Case it has been thought necessary there shou'd be a declarative Sentence in the Spiritual Courts pursuant to this Statute, it alters not the Case: for that's not from any Doubt of the Parliament's Power of excommunicating, but that the Offender might judicially appear to have been guilty of the Fact. And when by the Court he is found to be so, they declare the Sentence of the Parliament upon it, and do not pronounce their own.*

*To this I might add, that Deans and Archdeacons exercising the highest Acts of Episcopal Jurisdiction, is wholly inconsistent with the modern Notion of Bishops being*

being by Divine Right Governors of the Church; and if the Jurisdiction of the former is but of a late Date, and a human Constitution, it can be built on no other than a Parliamentary Foundation.

13. If after what has been said, any should yet doubt whether by the Legal Constitution of our Church the Clergy have an Independent Power, let him try whether the Laity can have any Civil Power, except what is deriv'd from the Clergy, supposing these have the same in Civils as the King and Parliament have in Ecclesiasticals. If it belong'd to the Clergy to establish a Civil Constitution, and make Laws in all matters relating to it, even to the ordaining of Civil Officers; wou'd not they who put these Laws in execution be their Ministers, acting only by an Authority deriv'd from them? And is not the Case the same, if the State makes Laws with relation to Ecclesiastical Officers, and appoints after what manner they shall be made, and by whom, and how they shall be qualify'd, and upon what terms they shall hold their Offices, and who shall suspend and deprive 'em, and for what Causes? Which brings me to that which is next to be consider'd, whether an Independent or Divine Power in the Clergy of making and depriving Ecclesiastical

fiastical Officers and Ministers, is not inconsistent with the Laws.

14. If to divide a National Church into Districts and Parishes, and appoint Ecclesiastical Officers for them, can't be done without a Legislative Power, because nothing less can give them, exclusively of all others, a Right to those particular Districts and Parishes, and make it a Duty in all who live within 'em to own 'em for their Ecclesiastical Officers; then this most evidently appears with relation to Bishops, because all of 'em, each in his own District, are invested with Power and Jurisdiction, which none can bestow except the Legislature. Now if those Bishops, who happen to be authoriz'd by the King to consecrate other Bishops, have no Legislature themselves, nor act by a Commission deriv'd from the Convocation, in whom the Legislature wou'd be invested, if the Clergy of the National Church had such a Power; the Jurisdiction any Bishop has, and his Right to have a share in the making of Ecclesiastical Canons, and the Power of constituting inferior Ministers, must be deriv'd mediately from the Parliament, but immediately from the King, as having the Supreme Executive Power. Nor can this be evaded by saying the Scripture requires Obedience to Bishops, for so it does to Judges and other Civil Officers; and



and yet none can have a Right to make them, except he who is a Legislator himself, or acts by his Authority. So, is it not the same to give this or that Person Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction over the Inhabitants of this or that Place? There's no way of evading this, except by making the Church a private Society, and allowing no more Power to belong to it than to other private Companys and Clubs; and consequently, that all the Right any one has to be an Ecclesiastical Officer, and the Power he is entrusted with, depends on the Consent of the Partys concern'd, and is no greater than they can bestow.

15. If the Clergy had a Divine Right to make the Bishops of the National Church, and, which is necessarily included in it, to assign to each the District he was to govern; the Magistrate cou'd no more have a Right to name 'em, or to assign to each the Limits of his Jurisdiction, or to deprive any of 'em, even for a time only, than the Clergy cou'd do any of these things, with relation to those Officers who in their several Divisions have Civil Jurisdiction. But, our Parliaments have from time to time depriv'd Bishops as well as other Ecclesiasticks; which is a sufficient Proof they thought they had not their Bishopricks by a Divine Commission, because they cou'd no more take  
away,

away, or even suspend such a Commission, than give it : and they might, for instance, as well have made Cardinal Campeggi and De Chinuchii Bishops of Salisbury and Worcester, as have enacted, that their several Sees and Bishopricks were utterly void. And there has not been a Reign since the Reformation, in which the Parliament has not made Laws for depriving Ecclesiasticks. Were not a great number depriv'd by Parliament upon the Restoration? And since the Revolution, have they not depos'd Bishops as well as other Ecclesiasticks? Nay, have they not trusted this Power with our Princes? And upon an Appeal from the Archbishop, whose Jurisdiction extends to the depriving Bishops as well as other Ecclesiasticks, does not the Supreme Cognizance in this matter belong to her Majesty's Delegates? Nay, did not Queen Elizabeth deprive all the Popish Bishops, and was it not declar'd good and valid by 39 Eliz. c. 8? And might not Charles I. if there had been just cause, as well have depriv'd Archbishop Abbot as suspended him?

16. If the Legislative Powers can dissolve a Bishoprick, as they did that of Durham by the 7 of Edw. 6. they must be able to unbishop a Man; since Bishops and Bishopricks are Relatives, and consequently can't subsist one without the other :  
and

Burnet's  
Hist. Ref.  
Part 1. p.  
148.  
Collect. p.  
121. n. 48.



and when they consolidate or make two Bishopricks into one, they wholly deprive one Bishop of all his Episcopal Power, since he can have no more Right to exercise his Function in that Bishoprick he is depriv'd of, than in any other where the See is full. And had not the Parliament thought they had an Absolute Power in this matter, they wou'd not have pretended  
 31 H. 8. c. 9. to authorize Henry 8. to nominate such number of Bishops, and Sees for Bishops, as he thought fit. And do not the Bishops of Oxford, Bristol, Gloucester, &c. owe the Foundation of their Authority to the Civil Powers, who created those Places into Bishopricks? Nay, were not  
 1 Jac. 1. c. 3 all the Archbishopricks and Bishopricks founded by the Kings of these Realms? And is not the King the rightful Patron of all of 'em? And were not the Bishops, till the Time of Hen. 1. as is plain from the Historians of those times, elected in Parliament? and did they not receive their Investiture from the King, per dationem Annuli & Baculi?

17. In a word, if all the Bishopricks are founded by the King, or, which is all one as to this case, by the King and Parliament, and they can increase or diminish their Number as they please; Can the Bishops of these Sees be Independent of them, when all their Power stands or falls with their

their Bishopricks? The Parliament suppose their Power in making Bishops, as great as in making other Officers: which, as it can't be done without some Form or other, so they authoriz'd King Edw. 6. 3 & 4 E. 6. to appoint six Prelates and six other Persons to devise a Form and Manner of making and consecrating Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, Deacons, and other Ministers of the Church; and that in which the Majority (in which there might be only one Prelate) agreed, if set forth under the Great Seal, shou'd be us'd exclusively of all other. And had they not a Legislative Power in this matter, they cou'd not enact, that all which has been done relating to the Consecrating of Bishops, shou'd be good to all Intents and Purposes. Nay, had they not vested the Power of making Bishops in the Queen, they cou'd not have added, "That divers Persons by the Queen's Supreme Authority have been elected, made, and consecrated Bishops; and that she by her Supreme Power and Authority had dispens'd with all Causes or Doubts of any Imperfection or Disability: so that all who consider the Intents of the said Statutes, and of the Supreme and Absolute Authority of the Queen, and which she has us'd in and about the making and consecrating of the said Archbishops, Bishops, &c. And if the Queen has

Supreme and Absolute Authority in and about making and consecrating of Bishops, is most plain, that the Bishops employ'd by the Queen in confirming, investing, and consecrating of other Bishops, acted ministerially by virtue of her Absolute Authority. And the manner of electing, confirming, and consecrating of Bishops, plainly shows that the Clergy act ministerially; since the Chapter is oblig'd within twelve days to chuse the Person the King names in the Conge d'Elire; and if they do not, the King's Nomination without more is sufficient. And the Archbishop and Bishops, to whom the King's Signification is directed, as they are commanded and requir'd to confirm the Election, and to invest and consecrate the Elect with all Speed and Celerity; so if they do not confirm and consecrate the Elect within twenty days, as well as the Chapter present him within so many days, they all incur a Premunire; a greater Penalty than the Civil Ministers suffer for disobeying the Royal Mandate. But had the Bishops a Power from God to make Bishops, nothing cou'd be more sacrilegious than for a Prince to command his Ecclesiastical Sovereigns, on the greatest Penalty except Death, in a matter on which the whole Government of the Church depends; and where, by this Supposition, he has nothing more



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more to do, than to obey the Ruler the Bishops set over him. Should the Bishops pretend to command thus in Civil Matters, they wou'd be guilty of Treason.

18. None can dispose of the Power of a deceas'd Bishop, except he or they to whom upon his Death it devolves. Now it can't be pretended it devolves to all the Bishops, or a set Number, or a single Bishop; because the King may appoint any Archbishop with two other Bishops, or any four Bishops, to consecrate the Elect (the Confirmation being perform'd by the Vicar General, who is for the most part, if not always, a Layman) and the Parliament need not have confin'd him to that Number. Nor can it be pretended that those whom the King commissions, act by an inherent Right, for then he cou'd not have nam'd any others; because no more than one Person, or several so united, can have an inherent Right to bestow the same thing at the same time. And since 'tis impossible there shou'd be several Originals of the same thing, the Power of the deceas'd Bishop must devolve to the King alone; and the Bishops commission'd by him must derive all the Authority they exercise in disposing of this Power to a new Bishop, from him who commissions 'em to act according to the Laws already mention'd: which supposes that all Spiritual Power is vested in the King, and that whatever the Bishops



shops or other Ecclesiasticks have is deriv'd from him. And if the Bishops are made by the King's Authority, whatever Power they have of making Priests and Deacons in the National Church must likewise be deriv'd from him, because whence they derive their Bishopricks they must derive all the Power which belongs to 'em. And if Tithes and First-Fruits are paid to Spiritual Persons as such, the King or Queen is the most Spiritual Person, because the Bishops themselves pay him or her their First-Fruits and Tenths. Thus, I think, I have made it plain from the Laws which relate to the Church, that nothing is more inconsistent with 'em than an Empire within an Empire, and that all the Power the Clergy have in the National Church is deriv'd solely from the Parliament; and consequently that none can be for the Church as 'tis settled by Law, who don't abhor all Independent Power in the Clergy.

19. After what has been here said, it is needless to shew the Sense of the Clergy, since their private Opinions cou'd not alter the Law, or make the Church to be otherwise settled than it is: and having all sworn to the Regal Supremacy, we ought not to presume that they suppose that Supremacy inconsistent with any Powers which they claim by Divine Right; and if they do, it only shews that Interest can get the

the better of their Consciences. And how great soever their Authority may be in a Point which is against their Interest, yet certainly it can be of little weight, when 'tis to gain over Princes and States, as well as the rest of Mankind, an absolute and uncontrollable Power, of which only God can deprive 'em. But since so much stress is plac'd on the Opinions of the Bishops and other leading Divines at the Reformation, which some endeavour to misrepresent to the prejudice of the Establish'd Church; it will be proper to give an account of their Sentiments. And the 25 H. 8. c. 19. being enacted at the Request of the Clergy, and pen'd in the very Words of their Petition, there can be no greater Argument of their disowning all Independent Power. And as we find 'em in the first Year of King Edward's Reign humble Petitioners for the King's Licence to authorize 'em to attempt, intreat, and commune of such Matters, and therein truly to give their Consents, which otherwise they cou'd not do; so they have never since attempted to make any Canons, without the King's Licence first obtain'd to confer, debate, treat, consider and consult: and the first Canon of those made in 1640. declares, "That the Power to call and dissolve Councils, both National and Provincial, is the true Right of all Christian

Burnet's  
Hist. Ref.  
Part 2. Col.  
n. 117.

Hist. of the  
Popedom,

“Kings within their own Realms; and  
 “when in the first times of Christ’s  
 “Church Prelates us’d this Power, ’twas  
 “therefore only because in those days they  
 “had no Christian Kings. Which Sup-  
 position makes all Arguments for any Power  
 of the Clergy, built on the Practice of  
 those Times, inconclusive. And agreeably  
 to this Notion of that Convocation, the  
 Great Puffendorf affirms, “That because  
 “Sovereigns did not at first concern them-  
 “selves with the Welfare of the Christian  
 “Religion, the Christians therefore with-  
 “out their Assistance constituted a Ministry  
 “and an outward Church-Government  
 “amongst themselves, which was main-  
 “tain’d by them as well as it cou’d.

20. All the Bishops, upon the Clergy’s  
 owning Hen. 8. to be Supreme Head of the  
 Church, took out Commissions for the ex-  
 exercising of their Spiritual Jurisdiction;  
 Archbishop Cranmer, as Anthony Hamer  
 has shewn, leading the way. And upon King  
 Edward’s coming to the Throne, the re-  
 newing of those Commissions was thought  
 so necessary for carrying on the Refor-  
 mation, that one of the first things or-  
 der’d was, that the Bishops shou’d take  
 out new Commissions of the same Form.  
 And pursuant to this Order, Archbishop  
 Cranmer’s Commission bears date the 7th  
 of February, 1547. and the King came



to the Crown but the 26th of the precedent  
 January. And in these Commissions they  
 acknowledg " all sort of Jurisdiction, as  
 " well Ecclesiastical as Civil, to have  
 " flow'd originally from the Regal Power,  
 " as from a Supreme Head, and as a  
 " Fountain and Spring of all Magistracy  
 " within his own Kingdom; and that they  
 " who exercis'd this Jurisdiction formerly,  
 " had done it only precario, and that  
 " they ought with grateful Minds to ac-  
 " knowledg this Favour deriv'd from the  
 " King's Liberality and Indulgence: and  
 " that accordingly they ought to yield it up  
 " whenever the King thought fit to require  
 " it of 'em. And among the Particulars  
 of Ecclesiastical Power given them by this  
 Commission, is that of ordaining Presby-  
 ters, and of Ecclesiastical Correction;  
 and all this to last no longer than the  
 King's Pleasure. And these things are  
 said to be per & ultra, over and above  
 what belongs to 'em by Scripture; which is  
 supposing that these things do not belong  
 to the Office of a Bishop by Scripture: but  
 tho they did, yet so long as the Magistrate  
 gives one a Right to that Office in the Na-  
 tional Church, he gives him a Right to  
 all those things in which the Scripture  
 makes the Office to consist. And in that  
 Reformation of the Ecclesiastical Laws  
 (which wou'd have been confirm'd pursuant

Hist. Ref.  
 P. 2. Col.  
 n. 91.

Refor. Leg.  
 Anglic. de  
 Offic. &  
 Jurisdic.  
 omn. Judic.



Burnet's  
Hist. Ref.  
Collect. 3  
p. 240.

to the Acts made about it, had not the King's Death prevented it) it is declar'd that the King has plenissimam Jurisdictionem over the Clergy, and that both Ecclesiastical and Civil Jurisdiction is deriv'd from the King as from one and the same Fountain. It's true, in H. 8's Time all the Divines did not come into this Notion, or at least till after 1540. For at a Consult of the most eminent of 'em, held at Windsor, there were three who suppos'd Laymen cou'd not excommunicate, but the rest were unanimous that they cou'd; and some of 'em said it was given to the Church (taking it in the sense in which our Articles explain it, the Congregation of the Faithful) and to such as the Church shall institute.

21. I need not mention more Authoritys on this head, since nothing can be more notorious than that the King's Spiritual Supremacy, as settled by Acts of Parliament, was by our Divines made the Characteristick of the Church of England against Popery and Fanaticism; and was not only the Means by which the Reformation was carry'd on, but the Ground on which the whole was justify'd. Nor was it possible for them to defend the Establish'd Church against all Opposers, without justifying all those Powers the King and Parliament exercis'd in Church-matters.

And

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And we find the Canons as low down as King James's Reign require the Clergy not only to observe themselves, but to oblige all others Can. 37. to their utmost to keep and observe all and every one of the Statutes and Laws that were made for restoring to the Crown the antient Jurisdiction it had over the Ecclesiastical State: And they declare, Whoever shall affirm that the Can. 2. King has not the same Authority in Ecclesiastical Causes as the pious Jewish Princes and Christian Emperors had, or shall endeavour to hurt or extenuate it, as 'tis settled by the Laws of this Kingdom, is *ipso facto* excommunicated, and not to be restor'd but by the Archbishop, after he has publickly recanted these impious Errors. And among the Jews there were not two Independent Powers to limit each other, as that High Churchman Mr. Thorndike owns, who saith, That it only becomes the Wilfulness of them who neither understand the Scriptures themselves, nor will learn them of others, to imagine an Ecclesiastical Court distinct from the Secular, under the Law, in which the Priests were the Judges. And Archbishop Bancroft, in the *Articuli Cleri* deliver'd to the Ch. 17. of his Epist. of the Tragedy of the Church King in the Name of all the Clergy, owns, Coke 3. Inst. 1601. that tho' heretofore the Ecclesiastical and Temporal Jurisdiction were *de facto*, tho' not

not de jure, deriv'd from several Heads, yet that now they are both annex'd to the Imperial Crown of this Realm.

Ir. 1165  
Irenic. c. 7.

22. Dr. Stillingfleet has made it appear, that the Generality of our Divines have all along acknowledg'd the Mutability of Church Government, and that it belong'd to the Supreme Powers in every Nation to model it as best agrees with the Civil Constitution. And Archbishop Whit-

Whitgift  
against  
Cartwright,  
p. 678,  
679.

gift says, That it is the Opinion of the best Writers, that there's no one certain kind of Government in the Church, which must be perpetually observ'd; and, he adds, that the Jurisdiction of the Christian Magistrate implies a Change in the first kind of Government. But because I shall in the following Treatise shew that the Mutability of Ecclesiastical Government was the receiv'd Opinion of the Nation, Clergy as well as Laity, I will now only mention the first Act of the second Parliament of Chas. 2. in Scotland, to which all the Bishops there concurr'd, and none of the Laity protested against it, tho it enacts, " That the Discipline of the external Government and Polity of the Church is in his Majesty and his Successors as an inherent Right of the Crown; and that they may settle, enact, and limit such Constitutions, Acts, and Orders concerning the Administration of

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that the  
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“ of the external Government of the  
 “ Church, and the Persons employ’d in  
 “ the same, and concerning all Ecclesiastical  
 “ Meetings, and Matters to be propos’d  
 “ and determin’d therein, as they in their  
 “ Royal Wisdom shall think fit. And  
 Charles 2. in his Royal Wisdom thought  
 fit that the Bishops shou’d hold their Bi-  
 shopricks during Will and Pleasure: and  
 I do not find that High Church complain’d  
 of this as an Encroachment on the Divine  
 Rights of Bishops.

In a word, that the Clergy of the Na-  
 tional Church have no Independent Power,  
 is so very plain from the Laws of the  
 Land, that all which is pretended to the  
 contrary is, that our Princes do not preach  
 or administer the Sacraments, but that the  
 Laws leave this in the National Church  
 to the Clergy, exclusively of all others.  
 But,

23. This does not prove that they are  
 more Independent than Lawyers, Physicians,  
 and Men of other Professions and Employ-  
 s, to whom the Laws allow the same Privi-  
 lege: but they are, like all others, in  
 the Exercise of their Functions, subject to  
 the Laws which the Supreme Powers pre-  
 scribe ’em, and are suspended, depriv’d, or  
 otherwise punish’d for the breach of ’em.  
 Nay, have not the Common-Law Judges  
 a Power to determine whether a Man  
 has



has a legal Right to the Sacrament, and to give Damages to a Person whom they judg to be injur'd by the Priest refusing it him? Tho' our Princes can no more judg in Person than exercise the Ecclesiastical Function, yet that does not hinder but all the Judges Ecclesiastical and Civil derive their Power from 'em: and since they are to see that all Ecclesiasticks in their several Stations do their Duty, they may be term'd, as they have been of old by the Clergy themselves, Pastores Pastorum, Episcopi Episcoporum, Pontifices Maximi, Vicarii Dei, &c.

24. If the Design of the Bishop of Rome and his Adherents, in excluding Laymen from exercising Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, was, as the 37 of H. 8. declares, to get and gather to themselves the Rule and Government of the World: Was not the Intent of the Convocation of 1640 much the same, when they declare that no Excommunications shall be good or valid in Law, unless pronounc'd by a Priest? since that is nothing less, than repealing the 37 H. 8. c. 17. and those other Laws which empower Laymen to inflict all Ecclesiastical Censures, and is a direct striking at the Regal Supremacy. For how can the King be the Supreme Judg in Appeals from the Bishops, if the Goodness and Validity of his Sentence must be owing to a Bishop,

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Bishop, or a Presbyter acting by his Authority? And is not this making all Causes relating to Wills, Administration of personal Estates, Marriages, &c. to belong to the Clergy by Divine Right? for it wou'd be absurd to suppose they had a Power from God to punish in Causes of which they cou'd take no judicial Cognizance, unless authoriz'd by the Civil Powers. And tho'tis plain enough what some of these Men aim at who continue, as well as those who begun this Practice; yet it will not do their business, because to order Clergymen to pronounce the Judgments made by Laymen (as all the Judges of the Archbishops and most of the Judges of the Bishops Courts are now, and from the time of the Reformation have been so) is imposing on 'em a Servitude, and not vesting 'em with Power; their Acts being purely ministerial, in declaring what Laymen have adjudg'd, and in the manner they prescribe.

If, as the Clergy wou'd have us believe, the Effects of their Excommunications are so very terrible, what can be more unaccountable than that for a Groat, or suppose a Shilling, they shou'd be ready to pronounce any Sentence the Lay Judge pleases to decree, without knowing any more of the Cause than of the Law? Giving Men thus blindly to the Devil, is

an

*an extraordinary piece of Complaisance to a Lay Chancellor. But,*

*If for any to maintain, on any pretence whatever, any Independent co-active Power, either Papal or Popular, whether directly or indirectly, is, as the first of the Canons made in 1640. affirms, to undermine the great Royal Office of Kings, and cunningly to overthrow that Sacred Ordinance which God himself has establish'd, and so is treasonable against God as well as the King: If their Reasoning, I say, be good, will it not as well hold against other Ecclesiasticks as the Pope, if they claim an Independent co-active Power? Nor will leaving out the word Coactive make any difference, because without Coaction there can be nothing more than Advice: and whether the 13th Canon does not at least indirectly aim at an Independent Power, the Reader may judg.*

*25. During those Reigns, when what the People had suffer'd by the Independent Power of the Popish Clergy was fresh in their minds, they did all that was possible to guard against any such Power for the future: and the Clergy minding Religion more than their private Interest, disown'd all Pretences to that Power: but after this, when they imagin'd the Court had a Design on the Liberty of the People, they thought*  
*their*



their coming into that Project with all  
 their Force, might deserve to have their  
 setting up for an Independent Power con-  
 sider'd at, if not encourag'd; which came  
 to that height in Charles I's time, that  
 the Bishops openly deny'd the receiving of  
 their Jurisdiction from the Crown, and  
 that even when they sat in their King's  
 High-Commission Court; a short Account  
 of which I shall recite from Whitlock's P. 21, 22.  
 Memoirs.

During Pryn's Imprisonment, Dr.  
 Bastwick a Physician was brought into the  
 High-Commission Court for his Book call'd  
 Elenchus Papismi & Flagellum Episco-  
 porum Latialium, in answer to one Short  
 a Papist, who maintain'd the Pope's Su-  
 premacy, the Mass and Popery; and Bast-  
 wick's Epistle to his Book declar'd that he  
 intended nothing against our Bishops, but  
 against those at Rome.

Yet this Defendant was sentenc'd by the  
 Court in a Thousand Pounds Fine, to be  
 excommunicated, debar'd his Practick of  
 Physick, his Books to be burnt, and he  
 imprison'd till he made a Recantation;  
 and this was for maintaining the King's  
 Prerogative against Papacy, as the Doctor  
 pleaded.

But on the other part, one who was a  
 fierce Papist, nam'd Chowney, wrote a  
 Book in defence of the Romish Religion  
 and



and of the Church of Rome, averring it to be a true Church, and the Book was Dedicated to and Patroniz'd by the Archbishop; so far was Chowney from being punish'd and question'd for this Doctrine.

In the Censure of Bastwick all the Bishops then present deny'd openly that they had their Jurisdiction as Bishops from the King, for which perhaps they might have been censur'd themselves in King Henry II. and King Edward III's Times.

But they affirm'd, they had their Jurisdiction from God alone: which Denial of the Supremacy of the King under God, King Harry VIII. wou'd have taken very ill, and it may be wou'd have confuted them by his Kingly Arguments & Regia manu. But these Bishops publicly disavow'd their Dependence on the King. And the Archbishop maintain'd the Book of Chowney, and that the Romish Church was a true Church, and err'd not in Fundamentals. Thus far Whitlock.

This Archbishop Laud was forc'd to affirm of that Church, in order to derive from thence that Popish Independent Power he was setting up here. And nothing is more Jesuitical than what at his Trial he

ABp Laud's faith in defence of this, and for expung-  
Trial, published by Prym, ing out of Books all Passages which call or  
P. 551. intimate the Pope to be Antichrist; not  
that he was, to do him justice, for advancing

Wanting the Power of the Pope, or call'd  
 for the Romish Religion more than for  
 any other. And this was necessary for him  
 to assert, in order to derive from thence  
 that Independent Power which he and his  
 Adherents were setting up in defiance of  
 the Laws of the Land, the Oath of Supre-  
 macy, the Principles of the Reformation,  
 and of the Church he pretended so much  
 Zeal for. But his whole Design was to  
 advance the Ecclesiastical Power above the  
 Law of the Land (one of the Articles on *Rushw. vol. 2. p. 818.*  
 which he was impeach'd) and therefore  
 while he was aiming at a Papal Power, af-  
 fecting to be call'd His Holiness and Most *Heylin's*  
 Holy Father, as the University of Ox- *Life of*  
 ford in many of their Letters and Ad- *Land, p. 2*  
 dresses stil'd him, 'tis no wonder if he were *297.*  
 no Friend to the Pope's Supremacy or In-  
 fallibility. But for the other Popish Doc-  
 trines which serv'd to set up an English  
 Popery, we need go no further than his  
 Life written by his own Chaplain Dr. Hey-  
 lin, to see how ready he was to favour all  
 who promoted 'em, and how severely he  
 treated those who oppos'd 'em: and  
 the Books of the rankest Papists on these  
 Doctrines were either licens'd by his Chap- *Pryn's*  
 lains, or approv'd by himself; and not *Hist. of*  
 only new Books against Popery were hin- *ABP Land's*  
 der'd from being publish'd, or call'd in, *Trial, p.*  
 and Passages against Popery deleted in *178, Gre*  
 others, *and ABP's*  
*Defence,*  
*p. 513.*

others, but those which had been formerly  
licens'd by Authority, as Bishop Jewel,  
Dr. Willet, Fox's Acts and Monuments,  
&c. not suffer'd to be reprinted. Nay,  
his Zeal was so great in this matter, that  
he was petition'd against by the Printers  
and Booksellers, even while Bp of London,  
for restraining Books written against Po-  
pery; and they complain'd that divers of  
them were in the hands of Pursivants for  
printing against Popery, and that the Books  
against it were not allow'd by him or his  
Chaplains, who had the sole licensing of  
Books. And he not only concern'd himself  
in those Parts of Popery which directly ad-  
vance Priestcraft, but even with Popish  
Images and Pictures, causing that of the  
Trinity, where God the Father was drawn  
like a little Old Man, to be painted afresh  
at his Chappel at Lambeth. Dr. Heylin  
owns, that many Churchmen then held the  
Real and Corporal Presence of the Natural  
Body of Christ in the Eucharist: and what  
Laud's own Opinion was, may be ga-  
ther'd from his Reasons for bowing to the  
Altar, the Form of the Sacrament in the  
Scotch Liturgy, and his Behaviour in re-  
ceiving the Sacrament when he consecrated  
the Church of St. Andrews. These  
things, together with the pompous Thea-  
trical Worship, and Ceremonys tending to  
create a Superstitious Veneration for the  
Priests,



## The Preface.

II

Priests, which he labour'd to introduce, made him the Darling of the Papists, except in the point of that Independent Power, he set up for himself, which they<sup>402</sup>, &c. dislik'd, because it interfer'd with the Pope's Supremacy. And 'tis well if these are not the Reasons why some who pretend to be Protestants have so great a Veneration for him.

26. Because Archbishop Laud and his Adherents were the Persons who, contrary to the Bent of the Nation, encourag'd, abetted, and promoted an Independent Power in the Clergy of the National Church, 'twill not be impertinent to mention what Opinion the great Lord Falkland (whose Zeal for the Church was no more question'd than his Abilitys to defend it, and in whose Praise a late Noble Historian spends three Pages and a half) had of these Men, whose Speech in Parliament Feb. 9. 1640. will give us the best account of it.

“ Mr. Speaker, He is a great Stranger Rushw. vol. 4. p. 184  
 “ in Israel, who knows not that this King-  
 “ dom hath long labour'd under many and  
 “ great Oppressions, both in Religion and  
 “ Liberty; and his Acquaintance here is  
 “ not great, or his Ingenuity less, who  
 “ does not know and acknowledg, that a  
 “ great, if not a principal Cause of both  
 “ these, hath been some Bishops and their  
 “ Adherents.

“ Mr. Speaker, a little search will serve  
 “ to find them to have been the Destruction  
 “ of Unity under pretence of Unifor-  
 “ mity, to have brought in Superstition  
 “ and Scandal under the Titles of Reve-  
 “ rence and Decency, to have defil’d our  
 “ Church by adorning our Churches, to  
 “ have slacken’d the Strictness of that  
 “ Union which was formerly betwixt us  
 “ and those of our Religion beyond the Sea;  
 “ an Action as unpolitick as ungodly.

“ As Sir Thomas Moor says of the  
 “ Casuists, their Business was not to keep  
 “ Men from sinning, but to inform them.  
 “ quam prope ad peccatum sine peccato  
 “ liceat accedere: So it seem’d their  
 “ Work (meaning the Prelates) was to  
 “ try how much of a Papist might be  
 “ brought in without Popery, and to de-  
 “ stroy as much as they cou’d of the Gos-  
 “ pel, without bringing themselves into  
 “ danger of being destroy’d by Law.

“ Mr. Speaker, to go yet farther,  
 “ some of them have so industriously la-  
 “ bour’d to deduce themselves from Rome,  
 “ that they have given great suspicion,  
 “ that in gratitude they desire to return  
 “ thither, or at least to meet it half way:  
 “ Some have evidently labour’d to bring  
 “ in an English, tho not a Roman Po-  
 “ pery; I mean not the Outside of it only  
 “ and Dress of it, but equally absolute,

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lii

“ a blind Obedience of the People upon  
“ the Clergy, and of the Clergy upon them-  
“ selves ; and have oppos’d Papacy beyond  
“ the Sea, that they might settle one be-  
“ yond the Water. Nay, common Fame is  
“ more than ordinarily false, if none of  
“ them have found a way to reconcile the  
“ Opinions of Rome to the Preferments of  
“ England, and to be so absolutely, directly,  
“ and cordially Papists, that it is all 1500 l.  
“ per Ann. can do to keep them from  
“ confessing it.

Which last Words Bp Goodman, Dr.  
Baily, Dr. Goff, Dr. Vane, &c. con-  
firm’d by declaring for the Roman, when  
they despair’d of establishing an English  
Popery.

27. Any Notion which is for the In-  
terest of the Ecclesiasticks, if once suffer’d  
to take root, will quickly grow and spread.  
As we find this of an Empire within an  
Empire did in Ch. 2’s time ; for upon the  
Restoration it soon became an establish’d  
Principle with High-Church, that there  
were two Independent Governments in the  
same Nation, and that the Government  
of the Church was by Divine Right in the  
Bishops : and the Lower House of Con-  
vocation not long since was for having  
the Bishops acknowledg’d to be not only of  
Divine, but Divine Apostolical Right :



which must mean either a Divine Divine Right, or a Divine Human Right.

28. In my small Reading I have met with no Clergyman since the Restoration, I mean when he has not been writing professedly against the Pope's or for the King's Supremacy, who does not maintain an Empire within an Empire, except Dr. Stillingfleet, who in his *Irenicum* affirms,

B. 1. C. 2. " That the Clergy have no Legislative Power,  
P. 45, 46, " and that there is no Law of God which  
47, 48.

" lodges a Power in the Officers of the  
" Church to bind mens Consciences to their  
" Determinations. And if the Magi-  
" strate has not the sole Power to oblige,  
" we must inevitably run into these Ab-  
" surditys: First, That there are two Su-  
" preme Powers in a Nation at the same  
" time. Secondly, That a Man may lie  
" under two different Obligations as to  
" the same thing. And to prove the  
Magistrate's Power sufficient for all  
Church-matters, he quotes Peter Martyr  
in these words: *Nam quod ad Potestatem  
Ecclesiasticam attinet, satis est Civilis  
Magistratus; is enim curare debet ut  
omnes Officium facient.* But his Ap-  
pendix, which came not out till the Second  
Edition, runs counter to this; and the  
whole Design of it is to maintain that Doc-  
trine of two Independent Powers which he  
had so much exploded in the Book: and  
there

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there he tells us, he knows no Incongruity, App. §. 16.  
 in admitting an Imperium in Imperio,  
 and that the Magistrate's Power is cumulative, not privative. And he is so  
 far from thinking the Magistrate's Power  
 sufficient for Church-matters, as he wou'd  
 have us believe in the Book, that he asks,  
 "What is to be done in many Offences §. 16.  
 "known to be against the Laws of Christ,  
 "and which tend to the Dishonour of the  
 "Christian Society, which the Civil or  
 "the Municipal Laws either do not or  
 "may not take cognizance of? and says,  
 "That tho the Offences against these two  
 "Societys are for the most part the same,  
 "yet the Consideration of 'em is different  
 "in the Church and Commonwealth. But  
 if the different Consideration of things  
 makes different Jurisdictions, there's no-  
 thing which the Clergy, all things being in  
 some sense or other Spiritual, may not pre-  
 tend to judg of.

29. And as to the Enacting Power of  
 the Clergy, and how far they wou'd extend  
 it, none is more proper to be quoted than  
 a Bishop of the Church (especially when he  
 wou'd be thought to speak the Sense of the  
 Clergy) in his Preface to the Articles, Ca-  
 nons, &c. collected by him.

He says, "If the Sense of Faith and Bp Spar-  
 "Holy Scripture is call'd in question, the row's Pref.  
 "Church may and must declare what to Collect.  
 of Articl.

em. 1. 1. 2.

"that &c.

" that Sense is ſhe has receiv'd from  
 " Chriſt and his Apoſtles, commanding  
 " under Penaltys and Cenfures all her  
 " Children to receive that Sense, and to  
 " profeſs it in ſuch expreſſive Words and  
 " Form as may directly determine the  
 " Doubt.— And in Controverſys about  
 " Doctrines, where ſhe has receiv'd no  
 " ſuch clear Determination from Chriſt  
 " and his Apoſtles, ſhe has Power to de-  
 " clare her own Sense in the Controverſy,  
 " and to determine which Part ſhall be  
 " receiv'd and profeſs'd for Truth for  
 " her Members, and that under Eccle-  
 " ſiaſtical Cenfures and Penaltys. The  
 " Sentence ſhall bind to Submission, tho  
 " the Superiors may err in the Sentence:  
 " better that Inferiors be bound to ſtand  
 " to ſuch fallible Judgment, than that  
 " every Man be ſuffer'd to interpret Laws  
 " and determine Controverſys. And this  
 Power he allows not only to General, but  
 to Particular Councils.

As the Church of Rome can't carry  
 a blind Submission further than this Right  
 Reverend Father, ſo I think there was  
 then none that oppos'd him, or rather,  
 who did not aſſert the ſame thing.

30. The Expression which the Clergy  
 us'd, when they pray'd for the King be-  
 fore their Sermons, viz. That he is next  
 and immediately to God and Chriſt  
 Supreme



Supreme Moderator and Governor, in all Causes, and over all Persons, as well Ecclesiastical as Civil, shews that when this Form was first contriv'd they thought no Ecclesiastical Causes exempt from his Jurisdiction. Yet has not this Form been dropt by degrees, and is it not now quite omitted? For which can there be any other reason, than that they think there's another Supreme Governour for Ecclesiastical Causes? And while Men believe this, it had been gross Hypocrisy for 'em to have continu'd the old Form of Prayer. But,

31. The Parliament having, without any regard to these Notions, exercis'd their Power in Spirituals by depriving the Nonjuring Bishops; and the Sees being by the King's Authority fill'd again, it has caus'd a Schism in High-Church: and they who adhere to the Bishops depriv'd by Parliament, condemn those who do not, as acting contrary to their common Principle of Church and State being under a distinct Government. Which Principle the others on the contrary are so far from disowning, that they endeavour to reconcile it with their deserting the Bishops depriv'd by the Lay-Powers; and thereby betray, as I shall shew in the following Treatise, their Cause instead of defending it,

it, and expose themselves to the Scorn and Contempt of their Adversarys. But, It being the Design of this Discourse to justify the Establish'd Church against all her Enemy's, no Man can condemn me for endeavouring to confute those Notions by which such as call themselves the true Church of England, attempt to prove the present Church guilty of Schism and Heresy; unless he had rather have the Church thought Schismatical and Heretical, than their Notions shewn to be false, who upon the Principle of two Independent Governments in the same Society, raise all those Engines with which they batter the Church. And were this Principle as incontestable as both sides admit, the Author of the Regale and Pontificate wou'd be in the right in saying, "That for Kings  
 " to have the Nomination of the Bishops,  
 " is a betraying of their Trust in the Bishops, whom Christ has left the Governors of the Church; and in making it  
 " everywhit as reasonable, " that the Church  
 " shou'd have the Nomination and Deposing of Kings, and that no Parliament  
 " shou'd meet or transact any thing relating to the Civil Government of the  
 " Nation, without Licence obtain'd from the Bishops, nor enact any thing but in  
 " the Bishops Name and by their Authority, as that the State shou'd have this  
 " Power

P. 11, 12,

13.

" Power with relation to the Church. Either of these Cases is, as he says, a Dissolu-  
 " tion of the one Power, and giving it up to  
 " the other : and where the Choice of the  
 " Governors of one Society is in the hands  
 " of another Society, that Society must be  
 " dependent and subject to the other. So  
 " if the Power of the Church extends to  
 " the making Laws for the State in Tem-  
 " porals, or if the State makes Laws  
 " binding the Church relating to Spiritu-  
 " als, then is that Society intirely sub-  
 " ject to the other : and if one Society  
 " can't meet or convene together without  
 " the Licence of the other Society, nor  
 " treat or enact any thing relating to their  
 " own Society without the Leave and Au-  
 " thority of the other, then is that So-  
 " ciety in a manner dissolv'd, and subject  
 " precariously to the mere Will and Plea-  
 " sure of the other. And he supposes  
 " there is more to be said on the Church's  
 " side for her having the Choice of the King  
 " in her hand, on pretence of Security to  
 " the Church, than for the King to have  
 " the Nomination of the Bishops of the  
 " Church ; " because the King at his Coro-  
 " nation surrenders his Crown, Scepter and  
 " Sword on the Altar, and receives 'em  
 " thence again by the Hands of the Bishops  
 " as the Ministers of Christ, and repre-  
 " senting his Person. And he supposes  
 " the



the Erastian Principle (the denying two Independent Powers) has turn'd the Gentry Deists, and the Common People Dissenters; and talks of Deists in Committees of Religion. And as he makes the Regale owing to Heresy in other places, so he says, " 'tis the Effect of Popery in England; and that all Governments being absolute and uncontrolable, the Church can no more limit it self than the Parliament; and that she is not limited by any thing she has done past the power of recalling; and that it was the Premunire that squeez'd out the Submission of the Clergy, 25 H. 8. & sic de cæteris: and that it is an Impossibility and a Contradiction for any Kingdom or State to have Authority over the Church within their Dominions in Ecclesiastical Matters; and that the Consequence of this must be to root up all Religion from off the face of the Earth. And the Reason he gives why it was so hard to keep our Kings from running over to Popery, notwithstanding the Deposing Doctrine, was, That they wou'd rather submit themselves, tho with the hazard of their Crowns, to a foreign Bishop, who asserted a Superiority over 'em both in Spirituals and Temporals, than to have no Bishop at all to be subject unto even

“ in Spirituals, which is indeed to be  
 “ quite out of the Church; and that ma-  
 “ ny in the Church of Rome, for fear  
 “ of falling into the Regale Erastianism, P. 162.  
 “ dare not push on a Reformation; and  
 “ that the Western Church, like its Mas-  
 “ ter, was crucify’d between the Usurpa-  
 “ tion of the Pontificate on one side and  
 “ the Regale on the other. Popes and  
 “ Kings are equal Enemys to Episcopacy: P. 112.  
 “ all the Choice left to it was, who shou’d P. 118.  
 “ be its Executioner. And if the French  
 “ keep as clear of the Regale, their Re- P. 265.  
 “ formation will exceed ours, which God Edit. 2.  
 “ grant; and let ’em not take it ill that  
 “ we warn ’em of the Rock on which  
 “ we are split; Erastianism having run lb. p. 230.  
 “ down like a Torrent from the Reforma-  
 “ tion, and the Regale being made, tho  
 “ very unjustly, the Characteristick a-  
 “ gainst Popery and Fanaticism. And he  
 “ condemns Charles I. for keeping the Elec-  
 “ tion of Bishops in Scotland to himself, yet  
 “ says, He made great amends after, lb. p. 131.  
 “ wards; he set himself for the Rescue  
 “ of the Church from the Encroachments  
 “ of the Secular Courts and Erastian  
 “ Laws, which was made a Handle by  
 “ designing Men to stir up the Rebellion  
 “ against him; and he is justly enrol’d  
 “ among the Noble Army of Martyrs.  
 “ To make the People fight for the Laws,  
 “ and

and the Prince (who has no Power but according to Law, which he has sworn to defend) endeavour to destroy 'em, is not the likeliest way to make one a Martyr and the other Rebels; tho it shews what these High-flown Blades wou'd put Kings upon, if they had Power. And tho nothing now is so common as to call the opposing of the Doctrine of two Independent Powers the Erastian Heresy, yet 'tis plain by the Letters annext to Erastus's Treatise of Excommunication, that the ablest of the Reformers abroad were in his Sentiments; and Selden de that here, as Mr. Selden says, some of Syned. l. i. the greatest among the Clergy, and who c. 10. p. had the chief hand in managing the publick Affairs, prevail'd upon Erastus's Widow, or her Husband Castelvetro, to let them have the Copy of that Book, and by their direction and encouragement it was first printed at London, in 1589. and that in the Acts of the Stationers Company 'tis register'd, that Thomas Wolf entred for his Copy a Treatise of Thomas Erastus, de Excommunicatione, reported by D. Portescue to be allow'd by the Archbishop of Canterbury. And Mr. Selden further says, that there is reason to believe that the Archbishop had singular regard to the publishing this Book; and that not only he, but several other Learned and Pious Men, whom



whom England did then abound with, and who were very frequently with the Archbishop, did with great Zeal encourage the publishing it, as what was very agreeable to the Practice then in use (and in full opposition to the Presbyterian, or any other Jurisdiction, under the name of Ecclesiastical, which was not manag'd according to the Rules of the English Constitution, that is, according to a purely Human Law) and serv'd to justify the Regal Supremacy which for a long time had obtain'd here. He adds, That he had seen in the Lambeth Library this Book finely gilt, with these Words written in a spare Leaf, *Intus quam extra formosior*, which he supposes was presented to the Archbishop by the Publisher. And tho it is very likely this was wrote by the Archbishop himself (for who should presume to write in his Book?) yet I own my self mistaken in quoting Mr. Selden, as I did in the first Edition, for saying it was writ by the Archbishop himself; and therefore I freely retract that, as I shall any thing I have said, as soon as I am convinc'd it is a Mistake, tho it should not chance to be, as this is, purely incidental. And I beg leave to say, that notwithstanding this, the Archbishop's Approbation of this Book plainly appears, which was the end for which I cited Mr. Selden.

32. But to return, so high does the Author of the Regale, &c. carry the Authority of the meanest Ecclesiasticks, that he will allow no Layman more than one Chaplain, because no Man can serve two Masters; tho our Law, which is to determine mens Condition, calls the Patrons of Chaplains their Masters. And he will not allow it proper for a Layman to say my Chaplain, otherwise than as he says my King or my God; and he makes it one of our modern Improvements, that Dukes and Dutcheses, who only have Patents of Honour from an earthly King, shou'd be more estimable and of higher Dignity than those that have Christ's Commission: "For in our Forefathers Time, and in all Countrys and Ages, the Mitre stood next to the Crown, even in the Civil Constitution; and that not only on the Head of one Arch, but of every Bishop. And he says, That the Office ascrib'd to Kings and Queens by the 49th of Isaiah, was an Office of Servitude, and not of Authority: and that a King is only the Church's Foster-Father, that is, a Nurse's Husband, whose Office 'tis to carry the Child in his Arms or on his Shoulders, when there is occasion to travel, &c.
- But as for the People, the best Epithet is that of Beasts, which he is so fond of,
- P. 194.
- 13 H. 8.  
c. 28.
- P. 182.  
Ed. 2.
- Ib. p. 221.
- P. 26.
- P. 201.

*of, that he repeats it in another Discourse, which I think is the only Mark of Inguinity in his Books; since 'tis fit that he who is for using 'em as Beasts of Burden, shou'd let 'em know what they are to trust to. And as for the Clergy, he wou'd have 'em be twenty times more than they are, some of whom are to be employ'd in Parliament, in Council, and the other great Affairs of the Nation, and those of lower Rank as Justices of the Peace and other Officers for the Distribution of Justice. And as he complains our Kings exact the Tribute due to the Chief Pastor, First Fruits and Tenths; so he affirms, the Bishop, as having no Superior, being the immediate Representative of Christ, is not under the Tithe of Worship, for it must end somewhere. And as he arraigns the Lay-Impropriators as guilty of Sacrilege, so he says, There lies a heavy Curse on this Nation, which can't be remov'd without Restitution of what we have rob'd from God: and as an Instance of God's Judgments, he says, so much has the Crown gain'd by the Accession of Sacrilegious Wealth, as from Imperial Dignity, and a Propriety paramount in all the Lands of England; to become an Honourable Beggar for its daily Bread. This Reflection is not strange from one who says,*

*d that*

Dissertat. concerning Eccl. Hist. before Parker's Abridgment of Euseb. Essay conc. the Divine Right of Tithes, p. 232, 233. Regale, p. 171. Essay of Tithes, p. 215, 216. P. 227. P. 160.



Dissertat.  
conc. Eccl.  
Hist.

that the scandalous and sacrilegious Impropriations of Tithes made by the Popes, were worse diverted by those who shou'd have restor'd 'em.

In his Preface to the Regale, he says,  
P. 21. " The Secular Spirit which the Principles  
" of Erastianism have begot in the Cler-  
" gy, must be exorcis'd, and their poor  
" Fear of Temporal Powers. They must  
" be brought to believe at last that God  
" is stronger than the Devil, and Christ  
" than all the Kings on Earth (a rare  
Picture of the Clergy indeed, if at present  
they do not believe it.) And he bids 'em,  
" not to glare on Legal Establishment,  
" but to assert their Divine Right in full  
P. 28. " Tail; leave not an Hoof of 'em be-  
" hind who dare oppose what they acknow-  
" ledg to be Divine. And upon suppo-  
sition that the Act of Submission forbids  
the Bishops to censure Books without Li-  
P. 31, 32. cence of the King, he says, " Here's a  
" Picture of the Regale wou'd put a  
" Man in doubt of his Christianity, and  
" that he has not been a Christian or has  
" forgot it, who wou'd have the least he-  
" sitation or scruple to damn the Act, if  
" taken in this sense, to the place from  
" whence it came, if there were ten thousand  
" other Acts of Parliament pin'd to the  
" back of it. If any of the Shepherds  
" have pleaded for the Act of Submission  
† " in

shou'd by our Ecclesiastical Historian of the  
 Reformation be propos'd as an exemplary  
 Hero; and that the 'licentious Principles' s. 17.  
 he instil'd into King Edward were de-  
 structive of all Religion, and the very  
 Fundamentals of the Church: but what  
 he is most provok'd at is, that this most  
 glorious Reformer and Martyr supposes the  
 Ceremonys of Consecration indifferent  
 things, and that there's no more Promise  
 of God (for so Cranmer expresses it).  
 that Grace is given in committing the  
 Ecclesiastical, than in committing the Civil  
 Office. Mr. Dodwel supposes the Su- s. 24.  
 premacy was chang'd in Queen Elizabeth's  
 Time, notwithstanding the Oath of Supre-  
 macy was enjoin'd for the better Observa-  
 tion of 1 Eliz. in which the 37 H. 8. and  
 the other Acts relating to the Regal Su-  
 premacy were reviv'd, and consequently  
 became a Part thereof; because the 5 Eliz.  
 c. 1. declares, " That the Oath of Su-  
 premacy shall be taken and expounded in  
 " such Form as is set forth in her Ma-  
 " jesty's Admonition; that is to say, to  
 " confess and acknowledg in her Majesty,  
 " her Heirs and Successors, none other  
 " than that was challeng'd and lately us'd  
 " by the Noble Kings H. 8. and Edw. 6.  
 " as in the said Admonition more plainly  
 " may appear. Upon which Admonition  
 our Learned Author thus gravely descants;

S. 20,

" I am apt to think that the Queen's  
 " comparing the Supremacy assum'd by her  
 " self with that which had been challeng'd  
 " by her Father and Brother, does not  
 " so much imply that her Supremacy was  
 " as bad as theirs, but that it was not  
 " worse. But,

34. 'Tis no wonder this Author rails so  
 much at the Principles of the Reforma-  
 tion, when he affirms, " that the Magistrate  
 " rather loses than gains by his Conversion  
 " to Christianity, because he is admitted into  
 " the Church on the Bishop's Terms, and  
 " as a private Person, and bound to obey  
 " Church Laws made by the Ecclesiasticks,  
 " and to submit to the Bishop as Head of  
 " the Church, and Supreme unappealable  
 " Judge in Spirituals, and therefore to  
 " abide his Sentence, which in some cases  
 " may proceed to Excommunication :  
 " That every Bishop is Supreme in his  
 " District, and accountable to none but  
 " God : and that to judge of a Bishop or  
 " his Act is the same as to presume to  
 " judge of God or his Christ. Nay, he  
 brings in Philo reasoning as if God him-  
 self were the Pupil of the Clergy : " That  
 " the Bishops are properly Priests of a  
 " more noble Order, than the Aaronical, and  
 " the Priesthood is anointed with an Unction  
 " much greater and holier than the Regal :  
 " And therefore 'tis no wonder, he says, that

Vindic. of  
 Def. of  
 Depr. Bps,  
 p. 54, 57,  
 58, 59.

Paranesis,  
 p. 196.

Vindic. ut  
 sup. S. 34.  
 S. 31, 37,  
 48, 49.



“ ’Tis contrary to the Rules of Subordination  
 “ that the Sacerdotal Office shou’d be sub-  
 “ ject to the Regal. And these Powers of  
 the Bishop he wou’d have inserted in our *Paran.* p.  
*Catechisms.* ’Tis no wonder a Man who <sup>253.</sup>  
 reasons thus shou’d charge the Church of  
 England, as he does in his Defence of the  
 Depriv’d Bps, with Heresy as well as Schism,  
 or suppose that the Magistrate had no Power  
 over Synods or Districts, as he does all along  
 in his Vindications of the Depriv’d Bishops.

One wou’d be apt to think that  
 High-Church, Woman-like, was pleas’d  
 best with those who flatter most, and that  
 nothing cou’d be too fulsom or too gross  
 for her. For what other reason can be  
 given why this Author was so much ad-  
 mir’d, nay almost idoliz’d by High-Church,  
 than the extravagant Power he attributes  
 to the Clergy, notwithstanding he has  
 said such things as strike at the Funda-  
 mentals of Christianity? And what can  
 be more so, than what he mentions in his  
 Dissertations on Ireneus? The Passage I *Diff.* 1. §.  
 need not mention, considering it has made <sup>38, 39.</sup>  
 so great a noise, and is quoted in Latin as  
 well as English in Amyntor; where, in-  
 stead of shewing we have as good a Proof  
 for the Divine Authority of Bishops as  
 we have for that of Scripture, he en-  
 deavours to prove we have no better for  
 the Scripture than for Bishops: and that

they may both be set on a level; he weakens the Authority of the New Testament, by pretending to shew, that the immediate Ages after our Saviour, and so successively down to Adrian's Time, did not distinguish between the genuine Books of the New Testament, and those which are spurious; nay, that till that time the Canonical Writings lay conceal'd in the Coffers of private Churches or Persons, and that if they had been publish'd, they would have been overwhelm'd under a multitude of Apocryphal and Supposititious Books; that a new Testimony wou'd be necessary to distinguish 'em from those which are false. Upon which the Author of Amyntor put this Query, That if the immediate Disciples of the Apostles cou'd so grossly confound the genuine Writings of their Masters with such as were falsely attributed to 'em, and since they so very early were in the dark about these matters; how came such as follow'd 'em by a better Light? But the learned Mr. Dodwel, instead of answering this and such like Questions, publish'd a Piece to justify Musick in Churches; as tho when he destroy'd 'em for better Uses, he wou'd still employ 'em as places to fiddle in. Nay, in his

P. 24--30. Parænesis lately publish'd, he affirms much the same, where tho he supposes, that till at least to An. 104. the Bishops of Jerusalem

lem were the Popes of Christendom, from whom all Ecclesiastical Power was deriv'd, and to whom all Churches were subject, and that tho there are not any Footsteps of the present Church-Discipline in Scripture; yet if we follow Reason, we shall, says he, P. 54—57, be surer of this new Discipline establish'd, as he imagines, by a College of Apostles about An. 106, at Ephesus, than of the Canon it self. To which may be added, that tho the Truth of the Prophecys of the Old Testament are a great Proof for the Truth of the New Testament, being what Christ and his Apostles upon all occasions appeal to; yet he puts 'em on the same foot with the Divinations of the Heathen, and says in his second Letter about going into Orders, " That Divination was originally  
" Heathenism, and that the Means the  
" Jews had of understanding their Pro-  
" phecys was according to the Principles of  
" the Heathen, to which they had been  
" inur'd; nay, that the Indulgence of  
" God in granting the Spirit of Prophecy  
" was plainly accommodated to the Practice  
" of the Heathen Divination. And he  
pretends to shew a Parity between 'em, as  
" that the Jewish Prophecy by Dreams  
" answer'd the Heathen Divination per  
" Somnium; and that the Rules of the  
" Heathen for interpreting their Divina-  
" tions was the proper means for under-  
" standing



De Jure  
Laic. Sacer.  
P. 359.

" *standing the Prophecys, which wou'd*  
 " *have been for the most part unintelligi-*  
 " *ble without 'em; and that was such a*  
 " *sort of Learning as was solemnly stu-*  
 " *dy'd by the Jewish Candidates for Pro-*  
 " *phesy. Nay he saith, 'tis manifest that the*  
 " *Jews made use of Wine, among other*  
 " *bodily Helps, to obtain the Prophe-*  
 " *tick Spirit. And tho his old Admirers*  
 " *may be displeas'd with him for shewing in*  
 " *his late Epistolary Discourse how different*  
 " *the Theology of the Primitive Fathers is*  
 " *from that now in vogue, particularly as*  
 " *to the Natural Mortality of the Soul; yet*  
 " *no doubt they will forgive him for the*  
 " *great Power he bestows on the Bishops, in*  
 " *supposing that they, and they alone, can im-*  
 " *mortalize it to eternal Rewards; and that*

P. 257, 258 *the Dead, not excepting the Patriarchs,*  
*Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, and even*  
*the Blessed Virgin her self, are now in*  
*slavery to the Devil, and may be reliev'd*  
*by the Prayers of the Living from their*  
*Disquietudes. A Doctrine which may be im-*  
*prov'd to as good use as the Romish Purgatory.*

35. *'Tis somewhat strange, that tho*  
*the Lower House of Convocation, who*  
*thought themselves at liberty to censure*  
*Books without a Royal Licence, complain'd*  
*of several, yet none of the Jacobite Books*  
*which condemn the Church as guilty of*  
*Schism and Heresy, were of the number:*

*Nay,*

Nay, what notice was taken of a Bundle of Papers dedicated to the Prolocutor, and, as the Author says in the Postscript, printed tho not publish'd except for the Members of the Convocation, notwithstanding these Papers assert that the Oath of Supremacy is not an Oath of Fidelity to the King, but of Unfaithfulness to the Church, and recommend Praying for the Dead, affirming we have as good Proof of that as of several Books of Scripture, and pretend to shew the Necessity of retracting our mistaken Reformation, which they call the Cranmerian Heresy, and other opprobrious Names? Was not the Author tenderly us'd, when he was not so much as reprov'd for inscribing such a Libel to 'em? The Dedication of which was never renounc'd, nor any care taken to remove the Suspicion of any part of the House being concern'd in such a publick Scandal, tho the not doing it has been objected to 'em more than once in Print. Nay, was there any notice taken of the Author of the Case of the Regale, when he proposes to 'em to enter into a Treaty with the Churches of France, in order to join Communion; and complains, that the English Convocation, not being suffer'd to sit while that of France lasted, render'd any Treaty between 'em impracticable; and seems to promise, that as the Issue of that French Assembly exceeded Expectation, so

there

Append. to  
Rights of  
God's  
Church on  
Earth.

P. 263.

*there may be a time when by the Assistance of a Reconciling Body of Men, who are not against a Peace with France in this great Work, a most glorious Step may be made by that King whom God shall inspire to take his Regale out of the way from obstructing such mighty Ends as these propos'd, by which he wou'd deserve the Title of most Christian, most Catholick, and wou'd be in good earnest the Defender of the Faith?*

36. *I easily foresee it will be objected to me that I have been too long and too particular in my Preface, in describing what the profest Enemy's of the Constitution of the Church assert, as well as answering in the Book the Arguments by which they endeavour to render her guilty of Schism and Heresy. To which I have nothing to plead, except the Zeal I have for the Church of England: 'tis that which makes me think nothing too long which any ways makes for her Defence, and that it may be seen whether they who concur with the Jacobites in those Principles by which they oppose the Church, or I who endeavour to confute them, are the best Churchmen. And that there are too many who pretend to be of the Church establish'd by Law, who talk much after the same rate, I mean as far as they durst without hazarding their Preferments, is too notorious a Truth to be deny'd,*



deny'd, and therefore I shall instance in one or two.

The Learned Author of the *Municipium Ecclesiasticum*, for instance, thro-  
out his whole Book, supposes the Church in  
a state of Slavery, by reason of the Regal  
Supremacy; speaking of which he saith, P. 122.

“ Can a Claim of an oppressive Supremacy  
“ be deem'd a glorious Jewel in a Christian  
“ Crown, which if exercis'd, must of ne-  
“ cessity forfeit the King's Salvation?  
“ And is it not a dangerous Complaisance  
“ in Priests to plead for such an Ambi-  
“ tion as may end in the Ruin of the  
“ Church, the Priesthood, and the Soul of  
“ the Prince? We only (*viz.* the Cler- P. 119.  
“ gy) are the poor, tame, dispirited, drowsy  
“ Body, that are in love with our own  
“ Fetters: and this is the only scandalous  
“ Part of our Passive Obedience, to be  
“ not only silent, but content with an  
“ Oc——n of our P——rs, which are  
“ not forfeitable to any worldly Powers,  
“ whatever. And here by the way of Ri-  
dicule he says in the Margin, be sure to  
except the Church of England: and he  
calls Dr. Wake's justifying the King's  
Power over Ecclesiastical Synods an en- P. 55.  
slaving Hypothesis; and says, “ 'tis not  
“ possible to make any true and signal Con- P. 121.  
“ versions to the better, as long as there's  
“ a common Slavery upon the Hierarchical  
“ Powers:

Preface in  
defence of  
Municip.

“ Powers: and that the not defending the Divine Right of Synods, will be the utter Extirpation of all Religion out of the World, and therewith an Extirpation of the Priesthood. So that Religion seems to be instituted for the sake of the Priesthood, since the reason why the Extirpation of Religion is so much to be fear’d, is because it comes with the Loss of the Priesthood.

37. The Author of the Character of a Low Churchman says, “ That what our Authority calls the Just Prerogative of the Crown, was no part of the Prerogative before the 25 of H. 8. and therefore is no essential Prerogative of the Crown, but adventitious by Act of Parliament; and by Act of Parliament, without any Hurt or Disberison of the Crown, may be taken away. And ’tis sufficiently known how the Church has groan’d under this Prerogative Act of the Letter Missive—even the best Churchmen ever since have complain’d of it as a mighty Grievance and Burden.

Ecc. Syn.

P. 85.

Rights of  
the English  
Convocat.

p. 120.

Ecc. Syn.

p. 107, 108,

Dr. Kennet thinks he can’t expose his Adversary (tho he carries the Independent Power of the Ecclesiasticks as high as any) more than to make him say, the Act of Submission is no Grievance; of whom he likewise complains, That he quotes not one

one Text for the Divine Right of Councils, he proposes no one Reason for the Necessity of such an inherent and original Power in the Church; *he does not* labour to prove that a Christian Magistrate can't retract, nor a National Clergy recede from antecedent Rights: *and he adds (as if these two are inconsistent)* he waves the Christian, and acts only the Englishman.

38. *I must desire these Gentlemen, who rail against the Act of Submission as inconsistent with the Divine Right of Synods, to reconcile their Notion with the 12th of King James's Canons, which declares, That whosoever shall affirm that it's lawful for the Order either of Ministers or Laicks (for the Words are Ministorum aut Laicorum Ordini) to make Canons, Decrees or Constitutions in Ecclesiastical Matters without the King's Authority, and to submit themselves to be govern'd by them, are ipso facto excommunicated, and not to be absolv'd before they have repented, and publickly renounc'd these Anabaptistical Errors. But this is not the only Canon, by a great many, which excommunicates the Claimers of Independency.*

*'Tis strange that this Notion of an Independent Power in the Ecclesiasticks shou'd, in Opposition to the Sense of the first*  
Re-



Reformers, and to all the best Lights of the Church afterwards, to the Practice of the Ecclesiastical Courts, to the Canons, Articles, Laws, and the very Oath of Supremacy, in a short time so prevail, that they whose Principles are nearer to the Church of Rome than to that of England, shou'd be represented as the only Churchmen; while others, because of their unshaken Zeal for the Church as by Law establish'd, which they esteem the great Bulwark against all Ecclesiastical Tyranny, either Papal or Presbyterian, are represented as Enemies to it. And this is the true ground, whatever sham Reasons may be pretended, of the Hatred some Men have for the Whigs; while the Jacobites and Papists, the great Assertors of two Independent Powers, are caress'd: tho it be notorious that the Mark the Papists always have, and always will aim at, is the Destruction of the National Church, as being the most considerable for its Number, Quality, Power and Riches. And notwithstanding this, do not they and High-Church in all Elections join their Forces together? Have they not the same Friends and the same Enemies? And do they not concur in the same Designs? If there is any difference, it is that the latter are bitterer Enemies to their own Bishops, whom they ridicule for the hazard they ran in writing  
against

against Popery: and how well they have obey'd their Bishops Orders, in giving 'em an account of the Papists within their Parishes, is worth the Reader's Enquiry. But to return.

39. Nothing cou'd more shew her Majesty's Goodness and Tenderness, than bearing so long with so many repeated Affronts to her Ecclesiastical Authority. And it was highly necessary at last for her Majesty to declare, as she has now done, her Resolution to maintain her Supremacy, as a Fundamental Part of the Constitution of the Church of England as by Law establish'd. And 'tis not only the Duty, but the Interest of the Laity to assist her Majesty in defending the Church of England as by Law establish'd, and particularly the Regal Prerogative in Spiritual Matters. For shou'd the Clergy, by the Repeal of the 25th of H. 8, c. 19. (which some have so much labour'd at) come to act as independently as their Popish Predecessors, the Laity will quickly find themselves under as insupportable Tyranny as ever their Ancestors were, nay much greater, if some were to have their Wills, who look on several Privileges the Laity enjoy'd under Popery, by Agreement between Popes and Princes, as injurious to the Divine Rights of the Clergy; and therefore complain of their being crush'd

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between

Her Maie-  
sty's Letter  
to the ABp  
Febr. 25,  
1704.

Municip.  
p. 121.  
Reg. p. 112.

between the Upper and Nether Millstones. And if, for instance, the King's Nominations to Bishopricks be an Effect of Popery, will not Laymens Nominations to other Ecclesiastical Preferments be the same? And will not these Men so far shew their Zeal against Popery, as to desire at least that this Effect of it be remov'd? Men might in the worst Times of Popery marry without the Consent of the Bishop, but now we are told that Marriage ought not to be made without it; and to be sure this must be so, since there's a very antient Father, if the Author of the Regale does not misrepresent him, who affirms it.

40. Because I shall in the following Discourse shew that an Independent Power in our own Ecclesiasticks must probably be more fatal than that which the Popes formerly exercis'd, I will now only add, that since the Laity must lose what the Clergy gain, it can't be an unnecessary Caution to 'em to be upon their guard; especially since both Houses of the last Convocation agreed (and 'tis the only thing in which of late years they have agreed) in addressing the Queen, That whatever may be wanting to restore our Church to its due Rights and Privileges, her Majesty may have the Glory of doing, and securing it to Posterity: which is in effect  
charging



charging the Queen's Ancestors, at least from the Reformation, as well as her self (since she claims no Power in Ecclesiastical Matters which they did not enjoy) with detaining from 'em some of their Divine Rights and Privileges. In such a Charge as this they ought to have declar'd what those Rights and Privileges are, which the Church wants to be restor'd to. But,

As her Majesty has no Power in Ecclesiasticals except by the Laws of the Land, and can't divest her self of any part of it without Consent of Parliament; so both must be equally concern'd in this Charge, which amounts to no less than Sacrilege, in detaining from the Church some of those Rights and Privileges which she claims as given her by God. For what the Law allows, are not pretended to be wanting; and I hope things are not brought to that pass yet, that a Man shall run any hazard for endeavouring to vindicate the Queen and Parliament from so heavy a Charge. And the Clergy, who pretend to be so zealous for the Church, must, one wou'd think, be pleas'd to find that the Church, as wanting none of its due Rights and Privileges, is more perfect and compleat even than they represent it; at least they will not be angry with me for thinking better of the Church than they do, especially since they lead me

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into

into this Opinion, by constantly representing it as the most perfect, most compleat, and best constituted Church: whereas if the Government of it did belong to the Clergy by a Divine Right, as their Address seems to insinuate, it must be, as every one may discern, as to its Government and Discipline the worst constituted Church in the World.

41. And now I have nothing further to add, than to desire the Reader to take notice, that tho in the following Discourse I use the word Clergy in general, I wou'd not be understood to mean those who maintain the Principles of our Establish'd Church: But the Popish, Eastern, Presbyterian, and Jacobite Clergy, (who are infinitely the Majority) as well as too many who pretend to be of the Church of England, falling into Notions inconsistent with our Legal Establishment, I was oblig'd to make use of that Word generally, to avoid Circumlocutions or perpetual Exceptions. And I likewise desire the Reader to take notice, that when I say such Powers, Privileges, &c. do not belong to the Clergy, I do not mean by the Law of the Land, but, as the Thred of the Discourse shows, by Divine Right.

I must likewise put the Reader in mind, that tho I endeavour to prove there are  
not

not two Independent Powers in the same Society, and that the Magistrate has all in Religious Matters which Man is capable of. I do not design to carry this Power so far as to make void the Principle on which the Reformation is built, viz. the Right every one has of judging for himself, and of acting according to his Judgment in all those things which relate only to God and his own Conscience: and if the Magistrate can't extend his Power to these things, 'tis not because it wou'd be usurping an Authority which belongs to an Independent Ecclesiastical Magistrate, but because they are those Natural Rights of Mankind which can't be made over to Prince or Priest. Which Rights, after I have once clear'd up in the Introduction, I need not afterwards nicely distinguish between those they can make over and those they cannot: or if I shou'd chance sometimes to use the words People, Sovereign, Representative, or Magistrate promiscuously, it cannot be material as to this Controversy, if I prove that the Clergy have no Power which is not deriv'd from one or other.

42. If any Member of the Church of England as by Law establish'd thinks fit to write against me, I hope he will take care not to wound the Church thro my sides, but will justify those Laws relating



to it which its Enemies condemn as Eraftian, and which, they say, render the Oath of Supremacy extravagant and impious; or at least, that in endeavouring to evade the true Sense of 'em, he will not use such Distinctions as must make all Laws, Divine and Human, useless and insignificant; or will not so interpret the Oath of Supremacy, as may make it consistent with the Spiritual Authority the Pope claims over the Nation: For if the King's Power extends only to the Temporals annext to Spirituals, as all the Highfliers maintain, they may as well affirm, that the Pope's Supremacy in Temporals annext to Spirituals, is only taken away; since the Words are no fuller in one Case than the other. But,

Pref. to  
Munic,

If my Adversary writes, as the Author of the *Municipium Ecclesiasticum* declares he does, that the Publick may take occasion to review those Laws thro which the Church is, as he saith, fallen under her present Impotency; all I desire of him is not to play the Hypocrite so far as to pretend he writes for the Church establish'd by Law, or to censure me for taking the same liberty in defending the Laws; which he does in opposing 'em; and that he will explain those Words which principally relate to this Controversy, as Ordination, Consecration,

tion, the Power of the Keys, of Binding and Loosing, of retaining and remitting Sins, the Giving the Holy Ghost, Excommunication, and such-like : and that he will, unless when he declares the contrary, constantly apply the same Ideas to 'em ; but above all, that he will tell us in what sense he uses the word Church : for then it will appear whether what he or I write is most for the Benefit of the Church taken in the sense of the Scripture, in which it always signifies the Christian People, sometimes with, and sometimes without their Ministers : whereas Divines, tho contrary to the Articles, which define the Church to be a Congregation of the Faithful, have industriously labour'd to have it signify the Clergy, exclusively of the People, for no other reason that I can see, than to deprive 'em of those glorious Privileges and Powers which the Scripture declares to be their Right, and thereby to give designing Men a Pretext to insult and domineer over the Church. And as the misapplying of the word Church in the Popish Countrys, has given the Priests an opportunity to enslave the People ; so others follow the Copy they have set 'em so exactly, that they never fail to represent any one who has the Courage to endeavour to rescue the

the Church of Christ from Ecclesiastical Tyranny, as an Enemy to the Church, even from those Texts which make for the Authority of the People over their Ministers. And when these Clergymen assume that venerable Name to themselves, nothing can be too great and glorious for Them, or too mean and servile for the People; then Kings and

Reg. p. 26. Queens must bow down to them, with their Face towards the Earth, and lick up the Dust of their Feet. To say this of themselves under the Name of the Church, when they wou'd not venture to say it under any other, is errant Priestcraft, and as ridiculous as if the Drummers and Trumpeters shou'd call themselves the Army exclusive of all others, and by means of that endeavour to get the whole Power of it into their hands, and represent every one as an Enemy to the Army, who will not come into the Cheat. But,

Now 'tis more than time to conclude the Preface, wishing the Reader so kind to himself as well as the Author, as to examine this Discourse, for the sake of the Importance of the Subject, without Prejudice or Partiality. And tho I can't be so little a Protestant as to say, according to the usual Cant, I submit all to Mother Church; yet, as the Part I take in this



*Controversy demonstrates I cou'd have no Design but the promoting of Truth, so if any shall convince me of a Mistake, tho in doing it he treats me ever so roughly, I shall be proud of giving an uncommon Mark of Love to Truth, in publicly owning and retracting my Error.*

*If I have any Adversary who has so much Charity as to shew in print where I am in an Error, I desire he will make use of this Edition, as being more correct.*

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# *The Rights of the Christian Church, &c.*

## *The Introduction.*

1. **I**T can't be deny'd by those who have examin'd into either the past or present Condition of Human Societys, that the Grievances and Miserys they labour under are chiefly, if not wholly owing to the Abuse of Power, by their Governors either extending it to such things as they were not, or cou'd not be intrusted with; or else imploying it, tho in things belonging to their Cognizance, contrary to the End for which they were entrusted: and that Christians, besides having their Share in these common Calamitys, have been miserably harass'd by a new Pretence of two Independent Powers in the same Society. A Doctrine which has not only occasion'd a prodigious number of Quarrels between Princes and Priests,

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but

but the Clergy themselves have been infinitely embroil'd with one another about it; History being full of their Contentions on this head. And at this very day the Clergy, not to mention many other Disputes, are so little agreed in ~~whom~~ the Independent Power in Ecclesiasticals is lodg'd; that the Pope, the Bishops, the Presbyters, each claim it to themselves exclusively of others, as well as of the Church or Christian People; for so that Word in Scripture, as I shall prove hereafter, always signifies.

2. The Design of this Discourse is first briefly to shew what things the Magistrate's Power extends to (and by the Magistrate I mean Him or Them who have the Supreme or Legislative Power) and in what things Men are still in a State of Liberty, or Nature, subject only to God and their own Consciences: and then to examine all the Arguments from Reason and Scripture which are suppos'd to make for an Independent Power in the Clergy.

3. It being agreed on all hands, that the Scripture neither adds to, or takes from the Governors of Mankind any Power; and that there's no Divine Commission which parcels the Earth into particular Governments, or any Family or Person that has an immediate Commission from Heaven to rule the Whole or any Part of it; consequently all the Power the Magistrate can claim must be only Mediatly from God, but Immediately from the People: and therefore to know the



the utmost Extent of his Jurisdiction, 'twill be necessary to see what Power Men had over themselves or one another, since they cou'd not grant more than they had to bestow. And,

4. The better to make this Inquiry, it will be proper to see whether Men, before Agreements and Compacts make any Alteration, are not in a State of Equality. And nothing, I think, can be more evident, than that between Creatures of the same Kind, promiscuously born to all the same Advantages, and the use of the same Faculties, there must be an Equality; that is, none can have any more Power over another, than another has over him. Children, 'tis true, are not in a full State of Equality, tho' born to it; for till they come to the Use of their Reason, they are to be govern'd by the Reason of their Parents, who if they lose the Use of their own Reason, are as much to be rul'd by That of their Children, when arriv'd to years of Discretion. So that the same Exercise of Reason which made the Father a Freeman, makes the Child so, who then has a full Liberty within the Bounds of the Law of Nature to dispose of himself and his own Actions, as seems best to him; if it were for no other reason, than upon the account of that innate Principle of loving himself best, and consequently preferring his own Good before another's, a Right he cannot divest himself of, as long as Self is Self; and being oblig'd to preserve his own Life

and Limbs, and subsist as happily as his Nature will permit, he cannot allow his Father or any other an absolute Dominion over his Life, or what is necessary to preserve it. But because the Abettors of Arbitrary Power (no small Party even under a Constitution which abhors any such Notion) affirm that Men were so far from ever being in a State of Equality or Freedom, that they were born Slaves by their Fathers having an absolute Dominion over their Lives; and that Kingly Government, the only lawful Form as founded on the Paternal, is as unlimited and uncontrollable: I shall beg leave to ask those Gentlemen, whether *Lewis XIV.* has such a Power over *Philip V.* since both being Heads of Independent Nations, are with respect to one another in a State of Nature? But,

§. A Father is so far from acquiring such an Arbitrary Power over his Child, by being instrumental in giving him Life, that he seems to be more restrain'd from hurting him than any other, as being more bound to support and preserve him: and there's nothing in the State of Nature that could give him a Power over the Life or Property of his Child (whom he is to consider not as his own, but the Almighty's Workmanship) which wou'd not give him the same Power over any other, or any other, even his own Child, the same over him. If a Child, when grown to years of Discretion, lives with his Father, he must, like others, in things relating to the

## *Christian Church, &c.*

the Family, be subject to its Master; or if he expects an Estate from his Father, that will be a prudential Motive to be govern'd by him, in all such things as will not prove a greater Prejudice to him than the Estate an Advantage. But bating these and such-like Considerations, all that is due from a Child to his Father, is Respect, Honour, Gratitude, and, if need be, Assistance and Support: and if this is all that's owing to the Mother, and is likewise due to Foster-Parents from an expos'd Child, what pretence can the Father have to absolute Power, which if the Law of Nature gave him, he cou'd no more be depriv'd of, than of the Honour or Respect which is due to him by that Law; and consequently all Government except Paternal wou'd be unlawful? And as Fathers only were capable of having Subjects, so none cou'd have more than he begot, and all by the Death of their Fathers wou'd be freed from this vile Subjection: because this Power being Personal, cou'd no more be dispos'd of by Gift or Will, than the Fatherhood it self; and consequently they wou'd be equal among themselves, and in a State of Nature, till Consent had made 'em otherwise. To which may be added, that they who have Children, if their own Parents were alive, cou'd not be capable by this Hypothesis of possessing any thing in their own Right, much less an absolute Dominion over their own Children, who like all that are begotten by Slaves wou'd be in the same hands as their Parents are.



6: Besides, if the Government of the whole Earth was given to *Adam* first, and after him to the eldest Son of the eldest Branch, as the Makers of this Hypothesis assert; this must not only destroy the Sovereign Power of Parents, but show that whatever provisional Governments are made by Mankind till this Universal Heir is found out, must be owing to the Consent of Men equal among themselves.

7. In a word, if People owe the same Duty to their Parents since, as they did before Political Government was erected, as there's nothing from Reason or Scripture to the contrary, the Power of a Father over his Children was always the same; and every one must see the difference between Political and Paternal Power, who considers that the most absolute Prince owes the same Duty to his Father, tho his Subject, as a private Person does to his, tho a Sovereign.

8. If then Men are naturally free, with no Power over one another except what's reciprocal, they cannot lose this Equality without their own Consent, in forming themselves into Bodys Politick: which cou'd no otherwise be done, than by agreeing to be determin'd by a Majority; because a Society can have only one Mind, that of the greater Number, who having the greater Force, must make the Body Politick move as they please; and they who do not go with them, cut themselves off from it. And consequently all Power, by the express  
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on tacit Consent of the Partys concern'd, must be at first lodg'd in the Majority, who may, where the greatness of the Number does not hinder, keep it in their own hands, or else intrust it with whom they think fit; who, as their Representatives, are to be obey'd as long as they act agreeably to the End for which they were constituted; but when they act contrary to it, of which they who deputed 'em must needs have a Right to judg, the Power naturally returns to the Body of the People.

19. As Government at first was founded on the Consent of the Partys concern'd, so it still continues on the same foot; for the Powers of the first Governors dying with 'em, the Laws must owe their Authority to the present Government, whose presum'd Will it is, that they should bind, till they declare the contrary. Were it otherwise, no Laws could be abrogated or alter'd except by the Persons who made 'em. And as the Laws derive their Authority from the present Government, so this owes its obliging Power not to any Compacts of the People in former Ages, but to the Consent of the present Generation, sufficiently express'd by their being willing to be protected by it in their Persons, Liberty and Property, and consequently to allow it all that is necessary for that end; the only Method the Generality in all Countrys have from time to time taken to signify their consenting to Government. And 'tis this which makes

every one a Subject, during his stay, to the Government where he resides. So that all Government, the present as well as the past, has no other Origin than the Consent of the Partys concern'd; all expressly or tacitly, collectively or singly agreeing to it.

10. There is nothing in that Objection, That Government could not at first come from Consent, because 'tis not to be presum'd that all the Partys met to give an express Consent; since if a few at first agreed on a common Umpire, 'twas sufficient if others by their Actions acknowledg'd an Authority so advantageous to them. And why People shou'd not have taken this way to come out of the State of Nature at first, as they have done ever since, there can be no manner of reason. And they who make this Objection, may as well argue that no Language cou'd be of human Institution, because Words not signifying any thing naturally, we cannot imagine that all should meet together, to agree that such Sounds shou'd have such Ideas annex'd to them: and yet this depends not only on the Agreement of those who spoke any Language at first, but of those who have done it since; because no Alterations or Additions cou'd be made to it, without the express or tacit Consent of those that use it.

11. Besides, they who make this Objection, in owning that Kingly Government, taken in the most absolute sense, is only from God, do in effect acknowledg  
that



that all other Governments are owing to Compact and Agreement, tho at the same time they affirm, that no Government cou'd be form'd by that Method. And,

12. They who say that most, if not all, Governments at present owe their Being to Conquest, and not to Consent, suppose such a wonderful Merit and Virtue in destroying a Country, burning of Towns, and barbarously using the Inhabitants, that it frees Men from all Allegiance to their former Governors, for endeavouring to defend 'em from this Usage; and makes them and their Posterity, as these Men affirm, Slaves to the Conqueror. But if this be absurd, the only Right a Conqueror has, is built on the Consent of those, who by their former Governor's being no longer able to protect 'em, were reduc'd to a State of Nature, and consequently at liberty to pay Obedience to the Conqueror, upon his taking 'em into his Protection; and accordingly Frontier Towns change Governors more than once in a Campaign.

13. As 'tis evident that all those Nations of whose Origin we have any account, the *Jews* themselves, as I shall shew hereafter, not excepted, fram'd themselves into Bodys Politick by the Consent of the Partys concern'd: so 'tis as certain, that the Alterations which from time to time have been made in Government, were wholly built on it; and consequently if all Governments were at first fram'd after the same manner as they have been since chang'd,

chang'd, none of 'em cou'd have any more Power than the People were capable of trusting 'em with. Now,

14. Men having no Power over their own Lives or Limbs, Government cou'd not flow from hence, but must be deriv'd from the Power they had over one another; founded on the inherent Right they have of preserving themselves, and preferring their own Good to that of others. For,

15. God by implanting in Man that only innate and inseparable Principle of seeking his own Happiness, and endeavouring to subslst as conveniently as his Nature permits, has given him a Right, or rather has made it his Duty to do all that's necessary to that End; which includes a Right not only of seeking Reparation for any Injury done to himself, but of punishing the Person who did it, in order to prevent the like for the future. And Mens mutual Security, as well as the common Tyes of Humanity, obliging 'em to assist one another, they had a Right to take such Methods, as they thought most effectual to this End; which was to agree to be govern'd by known and stated Laws, and to appoint a common Umpire to determine all Differences by them, and to bind themselves to assist him with their Force in all such things as make for their mutual Defence and Security. So that the Power every one had by the Law of Nature, is by their receding from it solely in the Magistrate; whose Right of punishing

nothing cannot extend further than they did in the State of Nature, in which every one was oblig'd to do all he conveniently cou'd for the Preservation of the Life, Liberty, Limbs and Goods of another, when his own was not in danger. And Government is so far from taking off this Obligation, that the chief End of it is to protect Men in all such Actions as may be done without Prejudice or Injury to one another; and consequently in all such, Men are still in the State of Nature or Liberty. So that it is not any Compacts, Agreements or Associations which they enter into with one another about such things, that put them out of the State of Nature; but that Political Union only which they engage in for defence of themselves and Property, and where they oblige themselves to assist the Magistrate in punishing all such Injuries, as the Good of the Whole will not permit to go unpunish'd. And therefore the State of Nature is much wider than is generally imagin'd, since not only whole Nations with respect to one another are still in it, and every one in the same Society, when the Danger is too sudden to have recourse to the Magistrate, but all Men are born in it, and always continue to be so in all such things as they may practise without injuring one another.

18. The next thing to be enquir'd into, is what Power this gives the Magistrate in Matters of Religion? And here none can doubt that he is fully authoriz'd

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to punish the Evil, the Immoral, the Vicious, and reward the Good, the Moral, the Virtuous; since 'tis promoting or prejudicing the Good of the Society, or in other words, such Actions whereby Men receive Advantage or Disadvantage, that denominates the Doers of them either one or the other: And if there's any difference between Immorality and such Superstition as is injurious to the Publick, the Magistrate, as Guardian of the Society, is to restrain the Effects of that likewise by Force.

17. If he can punish one who does an Injury to a single Person, he must certainly have as great a Right to punish him who injures the whole Society, by denying the Being of a God, or that he concerns himself with the Affairs of Mankind, in rewarding those who act for, and punishing those who act against the general Good: Since such a one may be justly reckon'd an Enemy to the whole Race of Mankind, as subverting that Foundation on which their Preservation and Happiness is mainly built; and as such might justly be punish'd by every one in the State of Nature; And consequently the Magistrate must have a Right to punish not only the Deniers of a Divine Being, but all who make the Notion useless, by disowning his providential Care of Mankind, or ineffectual by not honouring or adoring him, or who are guilty of formal Blasphemy, Profaneness, Perjury, and common Swearing.

18. In a word, Religion is so very necessary for the Support of human Societys, that 'tis impossible, as is own'd by Heathens as well as Christians, they can subsist without acknowledging some invisible Power that concerns himself with human Affairs; and that the Awe and Reverence of the Divinity makes Men more effectually observe those Dutys in which their mutual Happiness consists, than all the Rods and Axes of the Magistrate. And this is so very obvious, that Atheists know not how to deny it, and therefore suppose Religion to be a Politick Device, contriv'd on purpose for the better regulating of human Societys. And the Storys of certain Nations being so very barbarous as to entertain no Religion, are either contradicted by later and better Observations, or else they are not link'd together in Society, or are scarce above Brutes in Understanding: So that Men when they associated on a Civil, were oblig'd to do the same on a Religious Account, one being necessary for the Support of the other. Hence it is plain how absurdly some Men argue, when to gain an Independent Power in Religious Matters, they wou'd exclude the Magistrate from any Power therein, on pretence that the Welfare of the Civil Society is his only Province; since that obliges him to concern himself with all such, as conduce to the Happiness of Human Societys; which tho' they are the most substantial Parts of Religion, yet I shall so far comply with Custom, as to call them Civil only,

only in distinction from others to which Men appropriate the Name of Religion, And since Men have generally interwoven into their Religion some merely speculative Points and particular Modes of Worship, with certain Rites, Ceremonys, and other indifferent things; and are so much divided about 'em, that there's scarce any Country which is not as much distinguish'd by some things peculiar in these, as by its Situation: the Question is, whether the Magistrate has any Power here; which can only be known by examining whether Men had any in the State of Nature over their own or others Actions in these matters. Nothing at first sight can be more obvious, than that all being under an indispensable Obligation to worship God after the manner they think most agreeable to his Will, and in all Religious Matters whatever to follow the Dictates of their Consciences, none cou'd make over the Right of judging for himself, since that wou'd cause his Religion to be absolutely at the disposal of another. And as none has such a Power over his own Person, as to be able to authorize the Magistrate (were it possible any cou'd be so mad as to desire it) to use him ill for worshipping God as he thought most agreeable to his Will; so he can as little impower him to use another ill upon that account, because none in worshipping God according to his Conscience; or in believing and professing such speculative Matters as

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he thinks true, does another any Injury; the only thing which in a State of Nature cou'd give one a Right to punish another. Nay, in that State shou'd any have attempted such an absurd thing himself, or intic'd others to do so, he might have been justly treated as a common Disturber and Enemy; and consequently they who by the command of any persecuting Magistrate deprive one of his Life, Liberty or Property on this account, are guilty of as great a Crime as if they had done it of themselves without any Commission from him; because as to these matters Men are still in a State of Nature, without any Sovereign Representative to determine for them what they shall believe or profess: And 'tis impossible that Men should ever submit to Government, but with an Intent of being protected in so necessary a Duty as worshipping God according to Conscience, as well as in any other matter whatever.

20. 'Tis a grand mistake to suppose the Magistrate's Power extends to indifferent things; for then he might deprive Men of all Liberty, and render his Power insupportable, in hindering them from managing their Private and Family-Concerns as they please; which they have not only a Right to do, but to form what Clubs, Companys or Meetings they think fit, either for Business or Pleasure, which the Magistrate, as long as the Publick sustains no Damage, cannot hinder without manifest Injustice, and acting contrary to the main End for which he was intrusted

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intrusted with Power, the Preservation of Mens Libertys in all such things as cou'd be done without detriment to the Publick. And therefore the Magistrate's Power, the End of Government being the true Measure of its Extent, reaches not to indifferent Matters, but to such only as are for the Publick Interest; under which I reckon the determining of all those things, which the Good of the Society will not permit to remain uncertain. And therefore if Conscience was not concern'd about the manner of worshipping God, the Magistrate cou'd have no Right to abridg Men of their Liberty, but is as much oblig'd to protect 'em in the way they chuse of worshipping him, as in any other indifferent matter. But because the Doctrine of Persecution, notwithstanding this and all the Pleas of Conscience, is hotly maintain'd by self-interested and designing Men, I shall take leave to add a little more on this Head.

21. 'Tis contrary to the Honour of God, as well as the Good of Mankind, that any Human Power shou'd exceed these Bounds; since all which God, who commands not Impossibilities, requires of us, is an impartial Examination; and consequently that alone, provided we act agreeably, makes us acceptable to him, and therefore ought to render us so to Men, who can have no Right to fix Rewards and Punishments to things which are not of a moral Nature, because they tend to hinder the grand Duty of Consideration. For Men, when

when they become capable of chusing their Religion, will be discourag'd from impartially examining those Opinions to which Preferments are annex'd, for fear of finding 'em False; and frighten'd from considering those to which Punishments are affix'd, lest they find 'em True. And therefore all Awes and Bribes are religiously to be avoided, and the Magistrate to treat all his Subjects alike, how much soever they differ from him or one another in these Matters: since, as the contrary Method can only serve to prejudice those who are to chuse their Religion, so it can have no effect on those who have already made their choice (which for the most part, were it not for these Impediments, wou'd be impartially done) except to make them Hypocrites even in the most solemn Acts of Devotion. And how great an Affront that is to God, I need not show; and 'tis no less injurious to Man, since the Ties of Conscience being broken by a perpetual Dissimulation, Men are ready to perpetrate the greatest Villanys: And where this Effect does not follow, it makes those, whom 'tis the Interest of the Commonwealth chiefly to protect, the Conscientious, to suffer; or else it forces Men to defend by Arms those Natural Rights, of which no Human Power can have a Right to deprive 'em. So that Violence, which is only to be us'd in prevention of a greater Inconvenience to the Publick than it self, must in this case have most fatal Consequences.



22. To prevent which the Magistrate may punish those who preach up Persecution, as justly as if they had preach'd up Robbery, Murder, or any other Crime; because it is the most consummate Villany, in making Men suffer for doing the best things they are capable of, and without which they can neither be good Subjects to God or the Magistrate. And Persecutors alone, unmov'd by Pity or any other Consideration, which frequently disarms other Criminals, continue their Crueltys, till they make Men not only become Villains by destroying all Conscience, the greatest Security one Man can have from another, but blaspheme, affront and outrage God himself by a horrid Dissimulation. So that Persecution is the most comprehensive of all Crimes, in destroying the End and Design of all Religion, the Honour of God, and the Good of Mankind, Future as well as Present: And consequently the Magistrate ought not only to punish all who teach this most pernicious Doctrine, but to suffer none to enjoy any Employment either Ecclesiastical or Civil, who will not in expresse Terms renounce it.

But here it may be demanded, *If a Man's Conscience makes him do such Acts, as the Good of the Society, all things consider'd, requires a stop to be put to by Force, whether the Sacredness of Conscience ought to tie up the Magistrate's Hand?*

23. As all Atheistical Principles destroy Conscience, so they cannot plead a Right  
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to a Toleration upon the account of Conscience: And it being the Doctrine of Persecution alone which makes Men play the Devil for God's sake, I cannot see, were it not for that, how any such Case cou'd happen; but if it should, the Magistrate no doubt is to make use of his restraining Power, because as Men in the State of Nature had a Right, nay were in Conscience bound to defend themselves against an Invader, tho he pretended Conscience, so either they had a Right to intrust the Magistrate with this Power, or else with none at all; since otherwise all Criminals wou'd be sure to plead it: not but that such a Conscience, upon supposition it had done its best to be rightly inform'd, wou'd be innocent before God, yet that wou'd not hinder the Magistrate from discharging his Duty in protecting his Subjects. But if he has no pretence to use Force when no Person is injur'd, tho Conscience were not concern'd, much less ought he, for Reasons already mention'd, to do it when Conscience is concern'd; and consequently his Power is confin'd to such Religious Matters as are likewise Civil, that is, where the Publick has an Interest.

24. To go further than this, and to suppose the Magistrate has a Right to use Force for the promoting of Truth in his Dominions, must suppose he has a Right to judg for his Subjects what is Truth, and that they are bound to act according to his Determinations: since a Right to punish People for not acting according to his Determinations,

minations, necessarily supposes he has a Right to determine for them.

25. There's no need of any more Power than what I have laid down, to answer all the Ends of Government; since this gives the Magistrate a Right, when the Good of the Society requires it, to cut off any one, whether Lay or Clergy, from all Church-Communion, by Banishment, Imprisonment, or Death. And by virtue of this Power he can oblige any of his Subjects to serve his Country, tho that Service confine him to Places which have no Christian Church, or none he can communicate with; nay, to fight for the Safety of his Country against Men of his own Church and Religion: which shows that the Good of the Society is the supreme Law, and that all Church-Considerations, as well as every thing else, must give place to it; and that no Person, on any Church-pretence whatever, can be exempt from the Magistrate's Jurisdiction, and consequently that there cannot be two Independent Powers in the same Society; but that he has the same power over Men when met together for the Worship of God, as when met together upon other accounts; whom he is then so far from having a Right to disturb, that he is oblig'd to secure 'em from all manner of harm, as long as they do nothing prejudicial to the Publick, but much more so, if their Meetings tend to promote the general Good, as Mens assembling to worship God according to their Consciences does.

26. In some sense the Magistrate's Power seems



seems to be greater in relation to the Church than to other Societys, since he requires no more of 'em than that they entertain no Principles destructive of the Publick Good : but here he is to see that all Doctrines which make for it are to the utmost inculcated ; and for that end may ordain or authorize Ministers, publickly to instruct his Subjects to avoid all such things as he has a Right to restrain by preventing Force, and to practise all such as he ought to encourage by sutable Rewards ; since this is a less Power than t'other, and tends to the same End. And nothing can be more absurd, than to exclude him from a Right of authorizing Persons publickly to mind him of what he owes to his Subjects, and them of those Dutys they are to render to him and one another, and the Motives and Reasons on which they are founded ; and to place this in Persons who have no Jurisdiction in such Matters. And as he may set Ministers apart for this End, so he may deprive, depose, or silence them, if they neglect this Duty, or act contrary to it. And if the Ministers have acquir'd greater Riches, than 'tis the Interest of the Commonwealth they shou'd (as certainly there may be an excess that way) he has a Right to rectify this Abuse ; because Mens entring into Political Societys, necessarily subjects their Property to such Laws, as for the Publick Good their Rulers shall make about it : And consequently they can hinder Men not only from disposing of their Property to the prejudice of the Publick, but make any Disposition void, which is found to be so : And

the same Reason which obliges them to make Statutes of *Mortmain* and other Laws against the Peoples giving Estates to the Clergy, will equally hold for their taking them away when given. But the Good of the Society being the only reason of the Magistrate's having any power over Mens Property, I can't see why he shou'd deprive his Subjects of any part thereof, for the maintenance of such Opinions as have no tendency that way: for as no Man, upon his entring into Civil Society, cou'd be presum'd willing to give the Magistrate a power to deprive him of any part of his Property, for the maintenance of such Opinions as no ways contribute to the Publick Good, but are, as he judges, prejudicial to his Soul; so no one having power over the Property of others on any such account, cou'd give their Representatives a greater Power than themselves had, For my part, I must own I know not how to answer their Arguments, who say that Men might as well be presum'd to have empower'd the Legillature to chuse Speculative Opinions for 'em, as to take from 'em any part of their Property for the Support of those Opinions: and that if it be the highest Injustice to force Men to profess such Speculative Opinions as they don't believe, it can't favour much of Justice to make 'em contribute to the Support of 'em; especially considering it can have no other effect than advancing Superstition, if not in all, yet in most parts of the World. And therefore they conclude People are injur'd, when they are forc'd to labour and toil, not for their common Benefit, but for maintaining such Notions as the Publick receive no advantage by. Besides,

27. The tacking the Priests Preferments to such Opinions, not only makes 'em in most Nations, right or wrong, to espouse them, and to invent a thousand sophistical and knavish Methods of defending 'em to the infinite Prejudice of Truth; but is the occasion that Humanity is in a manner extinct among those Christians, who by reason of such Articles are divided into different Sects: their Priests burning with implacable Hatred, and stirring up the same Passions in all they can influence, against the Opposers of such Opinions.

That this is the Cause of Christians treating one another with so much Barbarity, is evident from this one Consideration, That no such Effects follow by Mens differing in such Opinions, wherein the Clergy have no Interest; but here their very Livelihoods and Subsistence are at stake.

28. As this is all the Power Men cou'd invest the Magistrate with in Religious Matters, so where this does not reach, they can be under no other Human Power, but remain still in a natural State, subject to God and their own Consciences only; since no Man's Religion, like his Lands, descends from Father to Son, but every one, when capable, is to chuse his own Church. And the only Motive that is to determine him is the saving his own Soul: for as he is oblig'd, tho all Human Power commands the contrary, to join himself with that Church which he judges will best conduce to it; so the same Reason, as



often as it occurs, will oblige him to leave that Church: and consequently he has an inherent Right, which cannot on any pretence whatsoever be delegated, to judge of the Terms of Communion in any Church, before he makes himself a Member of it. And 'tis not his joining to it yesterday, which obliges him to continue in it to day, but a constant personal liking; unless you suppose Churches made like *Traps*, easy to admit one, but when once he is in, there he must always stick either for the pleasure or profit of the *Trapsetters*. So that all Men in forming themselves into Societys for the Worship of God, are in a natural State, neither Prince nor Priest having any more Power over the Peasant, than he has over either of them; but all are to be govern'd by the same Motives. And tho no Church, more than any other voluntary Society, can hold together, except the Members agree on some Place, on the Persons to officiate, and such-like Circumstances; yet none has a Right to prescribe to another, but every one has for himself a Negative: So that here's a perfect Equality, for no Man has any more power over another, than another has over him; and as no man is capable of being represented by another, every one must judge for himself of the Forms and Modes of Worship, the Doctrines, Rites and Ceremonys of any Church, not only before he joins himself to it, but afterwards. And therefore if the determining of such things, as are necessary to be agreed on

on in order to form a Congregation for the Worship of God, is to be call'd Church-Government, 'tis impossible any Government can be more popular, because none are oblig'd even by a Majority; but those who cannot go with 'em, are to form themselves into a Church after the best manner they can; and two or three thus *gather'd together in the Name of our Saviour*, have the Promise of *his being with them*. Nor can this be otherwise, without destroying the very Being of a Church: because when People meet together upon any other Motive, than worshipping God according to that Method they judg most agreeable to his Will, they cannot deserve the Name of a Church; but are met together rather for the affronting than worshipping of him.

29. What has not a little contributed to make Men suppose there are Umpires, Judges or Governors in Religious as well as Civil Matters, is the Magistrate's annexing Profits and Privileges to the Teachers of his own Religion, exclusively of others; and determining who shall license those that are to have these Advantages, and on what Qualifications; and who shall deprive 'em, and for what causes, and such-like. And the chief of the Clergy being the Magistrate's Deputys in this matter, and all of 'em in most Countrys being, generally speaking, of the Religion to which they find Preferments annex'd, do, in order to bring others right or wrong into the same Sentiments, call this

this *Establishing their Religion and Church by Law*; and make it Schism, and consequently Damnation, not to be of the Church establish'd by Law: which notwithstanding all the noise and din the Clergy make about it, ought not to bias Men, much less take from 'em their natural Right of judging for themselves in matters of Religion, unless they ought to be in all Countrys of that Religion to which they find these Emoluments annex'd. For if one Magistrate has a right to judge to what Religion he will affix these; all Magistrates, Supreme Power being every where the same, wou'd have an equal Right; and consequently this, no more in one Country than another, ought to be a Motive to determine Men in the choice of their Religion or Church.

30. By what's said, 'tis plain how happy Human Societys wou'd be, did not their Rulers usurp more Power than they cou'd be invested with by their Subjects; who cou'd not oblige themselves to assist 'em with their Force, except in such cases only as themselves had a right to use it in the State of Nature: and what those Cases are they cannot well be mistaken in; and consequently the Commands of a Tyrant are so far from justifying or excusing their assisting him either in unjustly invading their Neighbours, or injuring their Fellow-Citizens, that they are oblig'd by the common Ties of Humanity to assist one another in opposing Tyrants, who by betraying the highest Trust, become the  
greatest



greatest and basest of Traitors. And had Men, instead of becoming the cursed Instruments of Tyranny, assisted one another in defending their natural Rights by whomsoever invaded, as by the Law of Nature they were oblig'd, the greatest part of Mankind wou'd not for so many Ages have groan'd under an insupportable Slavery; nor those few, but brave Nations, which are so happy as yet to be free, have been at so great Expence of Blood and Treasure in maintaining their Libertys, for which those who at present reap the mighty Advantage, cannot without monstrous Ingratitude condemn the Conduct of their Ancestors, or the noble Principles which thus animated them.

31. The Benefit wou'd be as great upon an Ecclesiastical as Civil account, if Sovereigns did not endeavour to extend their Power further than their People cou'd authorize 'em; for then all Persecution, and all those other innumerable Mischiefs both to the Souls and Bodys of Men, which have been occasion'd by not suffering 'em to worship God according to the Dictates of their Consciences, wou'd have been avoided. But of this fully, when I treat of the Method the first Christian Emperors shou'd have taken to prevent Ecclesiastical Tyranny and Priestcraft, and to make the Clergy as useful both to State and Church, as for want of it they have in most places been prejudicial to both. What's premis'd concerning the Natural Rights of Mankind, was

was necessary; lest when I show that there cannot be two Independent Powers in the same Society, and that the Magistrate has all the Power relating to Religion which Man is capable of, I might seem to give him as great a Power as *Hobbs* complemented him with; between whom and those who claim an Independent Power in Church-matters, how much soever they may rail at him, there's no other difference, than that he will have the Magistrate to judg for the People as well as himself, but they wou'd have both blindly follow them.

32. There's no Argument the Clergy can use to exclude the Magistrate from Power in Church-matters, which will not hold as much for Mens Natural Rights against them. For will not their having a Right to prescribe Terms of Communion for the People, make their Religion to be at their disposal, as much as it wou'd be at the Magistrate's, if he had such a Power? And if a Right in him to oblige the People to acquiesce in his Interpretation of Scripture, wou'd be the same as a Right to *make* Scripture, can any fallible Set of Priests be sovereign Interpreters of it?

33. In short, Men cannot have a Right to the End, but they must likewise have to the Means; and consequently if they are oblig'd to worship God as they think most agreeable to his Will, they must have an inherent Right of ordering all such things as they judg necessary to  
the

the End; otherwise they must either be oblig'd to worship God in a manner they judg he condemns, when their pretended *Jure Divino* Governors command 'em so to do, or else to remain without any Worship at all, if these Governors will not settle those things, without a special Determination of which no Religious Worship can be perform'd. Nor can it be pretended, that tho the Right is in the Priest, yet that in such cases it reverts to the People; because nothing can revert to them, which was not at first deriv'd from them: which tho the Magistrate might plead, the Priests cannot, because they do not so much as pretend to derive their Power from the People.

34. Nothing can be more absurd than maintaining there must be two Independent Powers in the same Society; otherwise the Christian Religion cou'd not have subsisted when the Magistrate was not of it: Since till the coming of Christ, all Religious Societys which were not of the Magistrate's Persuasion (and I may add those that were, except they were so because it was his) did subsist by this Natural Right, without ever dreaming of an *Imperium in Imperio*. And there can be no manner of pretence why those Christian Religious Assemblies which are not of the Magistrate's Persuasion, may not maintain themselves by that Natural Right by which all others have done it, from their first Existence to this very day.

35. And



35. And tho many Priests lay their main stress on this Argument, which they usher in upon all Occasions with all the pompous Solemnity imaginable, and triumph in it as a demonstrative Proof of their Independent Power; yet alas the only thing it demonstrates, is, that they are either the most ignorant of all Mankind, in not seeing what the Light of Nature made plain to Men of all other Religions, or else the most ambitious, in endeavouring knowingly and designedly to impose on the People in a thing of the greatest consequence. But, to do 'em all the right I can, I shall now set down what Power 'tis they claim, as belonging to 'em by Divine Right, and then consider their Arguments both from Reason and Scripture.

36. The Clergy, generally speaking, affirm that God has appointed for every Christian Nation two Governments independent of each other, one for Ecclesiastical, t'other for Civil Matters; and that both have, as without which no Government can subsist, a Legislative and Executive Power; and that one of these Governments, to wit of the Church, belongs to them by a Divine unalterable Right, convey'd from Christ and his Apostles, who empower'd 'em to rule the Church to the end of the World; and that by virtue of this Spiritual Empire, they have a right to make Laws not only about indifferent Matters, as Rites and Ceremonys, but that their Authority likewise extends

to

to Matters of Faith, that is, according to the Practice of all Synods, to determine for the People what they shall believe and profess; and that they have a right to enforce Obedience to their Ecclesiastical Decrees by Spiritual Censures, the Effects of which are, say they, infinitely more to be dreaded than any the Civil Power can inflict, since 'tis no less than shutting Heaven's Gates, and a delivering over to Satan all who are so unhappy as to fall under 'em: And that as none can be admitted into the Church except by their means, so they have not only a discretionary Power either to admit or not admit, but likewise to punish those they have admitted, not only by rebuking and reproving 'em, but by turning 'em out of the Church, and obliging all Persons to shun and avoid 'em; and that for all manner of Sins, for the breach of the Commandments of the second, as well as of the first Table: And that the better to do this, they, like all other Independent Powers, have a right to erect Courts of Judicature, summon Witnesses, and to do whatsoever they judge necessary for the Support of their independent Jurisdiction; of the Extent of which, themselves, under God, are the sole Judges, and consequently can excommunicate their Spiritual Subjects for whatever they shall judge to be Contempt, Contumacy and Disobedience: And that they have this great Advantage above the Laity, that they are capable of the highest Civil as well as Ecclesiastical Power; but that 'tis  
an

and impious Usurpation and horrid Sacrilege in all, except those to whom the true Successors of the Apostles have by laying on of Hands given the Holy Ghost, to exercise any Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, Office or Employ; and that whatsoever they attempt of this nature, is null and void, for want of a Commission, which none are authoriz'd to bestow, except those who derive their Power from God in a direct Succession from the Apostles. The Consequence of which is, that theirs is the most absolute, arbitrary, unlimited, uncontrollable Power in the World; because having it without any Intervention of the People, or their Representatives, they cannot be accountable to them for any Male-administration, but to God alone, from whom they receiv'd their Power.

As these are the Powers which the generality of the Clergy claim for themselves as Governors of the Church by Divine Right (of which none who is the least conversant in their Writings can be ignorant) so those amongst 'em, who wou'd not be thought to abet these Notions, must needs countenance and commend my Design, in endeavouring to confute an Error which has so universally obtain'd.

In order to the doing of which, the first thing I shall examine into, is the Possibility of two Independent Powers in the same Society; because if that proves to be repugnant to the nature of things, the whole Hierarchy, as built on it, must



necessarily fall to the ground, and great will be the Fall of this Spiritual Babylon. Chap. 12

## CHAP. I.

*That there cannot be two Independent Powers in the same Society.*

1. **A**LL Independent Power must be Supreme, because what is not so must be dependent; and no Power can be Supreme, which does not necessarily carry Legislation with it. Now there cannot be two such Powers at the same time, either about the same or different things. About the same 'tis impossible, because by one Power a Man may be oblig'd to do a thing, by t'other forbid to do it: so that the same Action wou'd be a Duty and a Sin; a Duty in obeying one, and a Sin in disobeying the other. Nor is it more possible there shou'd be two such Powers about different things, because a Man can be no more at the same time under different Obligations, than at different Places; since he may be bound to be at a Camp and at a Church, or before an Ecclesiastical and a Civil Tribunal, at the same time: Nay, he may be oblig'd to do not only different, but opposite and contrary things.

2. For one Power may command him to keep Holy-day upon an Ecclesiastical,  
D other

either to work upon a Civil Account; one may require him to fast, & other to fast; as it happen'd at *Edinburgh* 1581. the Independent Kirk commanding a Fast on the same day the King had oblig'd the Citizens to treat the Embassadors of the *French* King at a splendid Dinner. The Ecclesiastical Power may oblige a Person to exercise his Spiritual Function, in this or that place; the Civil Power (for reasons relating to the State) may command him from thence: So one Power may, upon an Ecclesiastical Account, excommunicate a Person, and thereby oblige People to shun and avoid him; the other may, upon a Civil, make it necessary for 'em to have frequent Communion with him. So the Magistrate may forbid his Subjects to have any Correspondence with such a Person; on the contrary, the Clergy may put him in such a Post in the Church, as must make it necessary for their Spiritual Subjects to converse with him. In short, a thousand things of this nature will occur. Nor can the first Absurdity be avoided, of these Powers being conversant about the same things: For if the Magistrate is to judge what is Civil, he must unavoidably judge what is Ecclesiastical, because Civil includes all that is not so; and if the Priest be allow'd to determine what is Ecclesiastical, he must (there being no Medium) determine what is Civil: which is supposing two Independent Powers judging at the same time, with relation to the same Persons, concerning all things whatsoever; because all things

things are either Civil or Ecclesiastical. Who is there to judg between 'em in those almost infinite Particulars which require a special Determination? How can the common Subject at the same time obey both, when both wou'd be own'd as Supreme in the same things? And can it be suppos'd, that God (*who is the God of Order, and not of Confusion*) wou'd ever involve us in such inextricable Difficultys, as to subject us to two Powers, which are either apt to clash and interfere continually about the same things, or else to command, if not contrary, yet different things at the same time?

3. In short, they who pretend to set up two such Powers, do in effect confound both; because their Commands being equal, they must destroy each other's Force and Virtue, and consequently free Men from the Obligation to both. To avoid which if you suppose one must be forc'd to give way, that which does so cannot be independent, but by virtue of that Obligation is subjected to the other. And a Power to null an Obligation, does infer a Right to make one; because no greater Power is requir'd for the one than for the other.

4. To imagine two such Powers ruling the Body Politick, is as absurd as to suppose two Souls independent of one another to govern the Body Natural. Two Heads to the same Body, whether Natural or Political, can serve to no other use than to make a Monster of it.



5. This Supposition of two Independent Powers, tends to destroy the proof of one Supreme Governor of the Universe. For if there may be two such in every Society on Earth, why may there not be more than one in Heaven? But this seem'd so absurd to the primitive Christians, that from the Impossibility of it, they confuted the Multiplicity of the Heathen Gods; which had been no very good Argument in them, had they imagin'd two such Powers in every Society on Earth, who certainly are more apt to clash with one another. So that this Notion, instead of being founded in Christianity, savours most grossly of Heathenish Divinity.

6. And if you allow more than one Power in every Society, there's no reason to stop at two; but you must multiply them, till all, or at least all necessary Societys have a distinct Independent Head. But,

7. If it be contrary to the nature of things, that there shou'd be more than one Power in a Family, every one sees that the same invincible Reason forbids more than one in a Society, made up of several Families; for the greater the Community, the greater Disorder and Confusion will the Attempt of introducing more create. To avoid which, it was necessary that the Father and Husband, tho both have their Power from God, shou'd be subject to the Son and Wife, when entrusted by the People with the Government; by which they are empower'd not only to command both,

both, but for just reasons to put them to death.

What has been here said, proves, that all Supreme or Independent Power must be indivisible; and that he who has any such in Ecclesiasticals, must have the same in Civils, and consequently all Power whatsoever. But because the Clergy pretend that their Ecclesiastical Power may be divided from, and no ways interfere with the Magistrate's Civil Power; I shall now show the contrary, even in those things they imagin the most unlikely to clash with it, *viz.* an independent Right of making and depriving Ecclesiasticks, and of Excommunication.

8. As to the first, this wholly excludes the Magistrate from having a Right to put a Clergyman to death; because in Deprivation of Life is included Deprivation of all Offices and Employs whatsoever: and consequently without having the less, he cou'd not have the greater, in which that is contain'd. And if the Clergy hold their Offices by a Divine Commission, the Magistrate can have no more Right to debar or hinder their executing them, than to suspend or supersede such a Commission. And a Divine Independent Right in any one to an Office, necessarily supposes the same Right to the Place where he is to exercise it, and to the Persons on whom he is to exercise it: and consequently the Magistrate can, upon no pretence whatsoever, banish, imprison, remove, or any way hinder a Person from

exercising his Spiritual Function in that Place, where the governing Clergy have oblig'd him to reside; much less incapacitate him by any Punishment from performing it at all. And by the same reason he has as little power over a Layman; because if he puts him to death, banishes, imprisons, or removes him from the District he belongs to, he deprives the Governor of that District of a Subject, to whose Spiritual Obedience he has an Independent Right.

9. As to the second, if the Power of Excommunication belongs independently to the Clergy, the Magistrate cou'd no more do that which necessarily deprives one of the Communion of the Church, than a Priest can that whereby one's Death unavoidably follows; because if the Governments are equal, by being both Independent, the Magistrate can have no more Power over Men directly or indirectly in Ecclesiasticals, than the Priest has in Civils; and consequently he cou'd no more by Banishment, Imprisonment or Death, hinder one from communicating with his own Church, much less with all the Churches in the World (as by the last he most effectually does) than the Priest cou'd do any thing, whereby Deprivation of Country, Estate, Liberty or Life, is the necessary Consequence.

But this is not all; for the Power of Excommunication in the Priests, takes from the Magistrate the Right of depriving one of the Exercise of any Profession, Calling,



ling, Employ, or Trade whatsoever; since none can exercise 'em, who is to be shun'd by all People. And, if the Clergy can oblige every body to shun those they excommunicate, they must consequently be able to deprive whom they please of their Professions, &c. which must debar the Magistrate of doing the same, since both cannot have a Right to the same Power at the same time. Nay, considering no Person can long subsist without the Assistance of others, which cannot be had, where People are oblig'd to avoid all Commerce and Converse with him; a Sentence of Excommunication, if strictly put in execution, wou'd not only deprive one of anyw Employ whatsoever, but cause him for some time to lead a Life more to be dreaded than Death it self, and at last to perish most miserably: and consequently an Independent Power of Life and Death wou'd belong to the Clergy; and there is no Person whatsoever exempt from this Punishment, no not the Magistrate, since he is their Ecclesiastical Subject, and may be reduc'd to this miserable and forlorn Condition, by the Clergy's drawing their Spiritual Sword (as they term this Censure) against all of his Party, Soldiers and others; and obliging them to avoid, shun, and consequently desert him, on pain of having Heaven's Gates shut against 'em, and being deliver'd over to Satan. And Men certainly in common Prudence will be sure to comply with those who have this Power over

their *Souls*, rather than with the Magistrate, who has Power only over their *Bodys*.

10. If it be said, they have not this Power over the Magistrate, because 'tis inconsistent with his Civil Rights; will not the Argument hold as to the People? For is he not in Ecclesiasticals as much a private Person as any of 'em; and in Civils has he any Rights except what they give him for their own sakes, being their *Creature*, as St. Peter calls him, made by them, as well as for them? And does not every one, as well as he, suffer by this Punishment, in his Civil and Natural Capacity? since the Conversation of his Fellow-Citizens is absolutely necessary to his Well-being here, to which, unless he acts contrary to the common Rules of sociable and rational Creatures, he has a natural Right, built on the necessity Men are in of one another's Assistance; each Person's Insufficiency for himself being the Foundation of all the mutual Dutys between Man and Man. And he that's in the right in speculative Notions, can as little live without the Concurrence of others, as he that's in the wrong: and whosoever will not be shun'd for the sake of his Opinions, ought to observe the same measure with respect to others, who have the same Privilege of judging for themselves. The contrary Treatment, since it can no ways convince the Understanding, but is apt to produce Hatred and Dissimulation, ought only to be us'd for breaking those common Rules, by which Mankind subsist

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in Societies. And if the Clergy claim a Chap. 1.  
judicial Power in these Matters, what can  
be exempted from their Jurisdiction?

By what's here briefly touch'd at, 'tis plain that an independent Right in the Clergy, of Deprivation, and of Excommunication, does not only clash, but is wholly inconsistent with the Magistrate's Civil Power. However, let us a little more fully consider, what effect an independent Right in the Clergy to Excommunication will have on Mankind.

11. If he, who has power over Mens Lives, must needs command their Properties, because they wou'd willingly part with one to preserve t'other; how great must their Power be, who can exclude Men from everlasting Life? Nothing less than that being, as the Priests pretend, the Consequence of their Excommunication; Men wou'd be most notorious Fools, not to let all in this World, their Lives as well as Properties, be at their disposal, to prevent or take off this infinitely great Punishment. But the temporal Effect of it, without the assistance of its spiritual Force, is sufficient to enslave Mankind? since the depriving one of all Converse must needs be insupportable to so sociable a Creature as Man: for who can indure to be shun'd as a frightful or infectious Animal, and to be left alone and solitary in the midst of Mankind? This singly, tho one was able to subsist without the Concurrence of others, being too much for human Nature to support; what wou'd not Men do or suffer to avoid it?

12. 'Tis



12. 'Tis in vain to deny that the Clergy have this Power even in the most strict and severe sense; for if it belongs to them to prohibit People from conversing with whom they please, it must likewise belong to them (for who can interpose in things of their Cognizance?) to judge of the measure of the Prohibition; and consequently when they extend it to the utmost, by forbidding all manner of Communication, People are oblig'd to obey them.

13. The turning out of the Synagogues amongst the Jews (a), tho it did not debar one from the Legal Worship, nor wholly exclude him from all Converse, but only oblig'd him to keep a certain distance; yet was thought so severe a Punishment, that the Rabbys, and other great Men, by way of Commutation, had the favour of being soundly beaten (tho some since, subtler than Jews, have manag'd Commutations more to their own advantage, by enriching themselves, and begging, if Fame be not a Liar, many an honest Dissenter) and the Jews now chuse (b) to submit not only to Stripes, but to Banishment rather than to it. Among the *Essenes* (c), the strictest Sect of the Jews, "Excommunication was so terrible, that  
"they who incur'd that Sentence, came  
"probably to a miserable End, being driven

(a) Selden de Synedriis.

(b) Grotius de Imperio summarum potestatum circa sacra, cap. 9. §. 10.

(c) Josephus de Bello Judaico, lib. 2. cap. 7.

“ to graze like Beasts till the Flesh rotted Chap. 1.  
 “ from the Bone. In this Distress, the So-  
 “ ciety had sometimes the Charity, when  
 “ they were at the point of death, to re-  
 “ ceive 'em again. These, 'tis true, ob-  
 lig'd themselves to refuse Assistance, tho' of-  
 fer'd; but wou'd it not be as bad if all were  
 bound not to offer it?

14. The antient *Germans* (*d*) thought Ex-  
 communication so insupportable, that ma-  
 ny laid violent hands on themselves, rather  
 than endure it: And not without good  
 reason; for who wou'd not be kill'd out-  
 right, rather than be oblig'd to sustain Life  
 in an uninhabited Place? And the being a-  
 mongst Men, when they agree to have no  
 Communication with him, is far from mak-  
 ing his Condition more eligible.

15. The *Druids* (*d*), who got the sole  
 power of Excommunication to themselves,  
 by virtue of it govern'd all things; and  
 Kings were only their Ministers to execute  
 their Sentences. And have not the Chris-  
 tian *Druids*, by pretending an independent  
 Right to it, rul'd the Christian World as  
 they pleas'd; especially in the most igno-  
 rant times, when the Pope, as Head of the  
 Church, insulted and lorded it over both  
 Kings and People; who (as the *Indians* do  
 the Devil) ador'd him out of fear, so ap-  
 prehensive were they of the Thunder of his  
 Excommunications?

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(*d*) Tacitus de moribus Germanorum.

(*e*) Dion Chrysostom, *Orat.* 49.

16. Of this had not the Nation been sensible, they wou'd not have declar'd (f),  
 " That the Reason why the Pope and his  
 " Adherents hinder'd Laymen from ex-  
 " ercising Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, was,  
 " that they might gather and get to them-  
 " selves the Rule and Government of the  
 " World.

17. If this Censure does not now-a-days strike every where such a Terror into Men; 'tis not because it does not naturally produce it, but because they do not strictly and religiously avoid all Converse with the Excommunicated; whom they cannot think to be in a very desperate Condition with respect to t'other World, when they consider the trifling Causes for which that Penalty is commonly inflicted. Besides, where there are several Churches, being censur'd by one of them, seldom makes a Man less esteem'd by the rest; which possibly is one reason why the Clergy make what they call *Schism* to be so heinous a Sin.

18. Can any say the Magistrate has all the Power necessary for the Protection of his Subjects, if Excommunication belongs by Divine Right to the Clergy? For then, tho by the Terror of this dreadful Punishment they drive the most useful Citizens and their Trades into Foren Parts, to the ruin of the Commonwealth; or any other way, by virtue of it, oppress his Subjects; he is so far from having a Right

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(f) 37 of Henry VIII. chap. 17.



to hinder it, that the attempt in him Chap. 1.  
 wou'd be no less than spiritual Rebellion. ~~~~~  
 And what can more discourage him from  
 acting for the good of the Commonwealth,  
 when contrary to the Interest or Designs of  
 the Clergy, than his being subject to this  
 Punishment? And tho his own Person  
 were exempt, yet that would signify little,  
 so long as those he acts by are liable to it.  
 But tho both the Magistrate and Ministers  
 were ever so willing to protect the People,  
 yet they are depriv'd of the Means, be-  
 cause

19. The Cognizance almost of all Causes  
 must belong to the Clergy; since whoso-  
 ever offends, or injures his Brother, com-  
 mits a Sin: and the Arguments they use  
 for their spiritual Jurisdiction, such as  
*Reformation of Manners, the Good of Mens  
 Souls, Avoiding Scandal, &c.* give them a  
 right to excommunicate for one Sin as well  
 as another; and consequently for Invasion  
 of Property, no small Sin. And whosoever  
 punishes for this, must, if he be not a  
 mere Executioner of another's Sentence,  
 judg concerning the Matter of Fact, whe-  
 ther the Defendant has injur'd the Plantiff,  
 &c. and Judgments would be in vain, if  
 People were not to submit to the Determi-  
 nation of the Judges. By the same reason,  
 the Clergy must have a right to excommu-  
 nicate for all Crimes against the publick  
 Good, these being Sins of the first Magni-  
 tude: And, to instance in Rebellion, they  
 cannot have a Power to censure Men for it,  
 without a right of judging to whom Alle-  
 giance

giance is due; so that all publick and private Right is subject to their Determination.

20. And considering the same things are both Civil and Religious, and there's nothing relating to one's self, one's Neighbor, or the Publick, but where Religion is, or may be concern'd, and where the Clergy, as a matter of Conscience, are to advise; this wou'd give them, if they have a Jurisdiction as well as a Right to advise, a Power in all things whatsoever, exclusively of all others, were it for no other reason, than that Men cannot obey contrary Judgments; tho another may be added, that Oaths being necessary for the determining of Controversys, These, as spiritual things, wou'd belong only to the Clergy to administer or judg of, or punish for the breach of 'em.

21. If it be said, that these two Independent Powers may judg concerning the same Crimes; because one punishes on account of the State, t'other of the Church: This, beside the Absurdity of two Independent Powers judging about the same things, is manifestly unjust, in subjecting the same Persons to undergo two Trials, and to be punish'd twice for the same Crime. And the end of all Punishment being to deter Men from committing those Crimes for which the Criminal suffers, takes in all Pretences either from the Good of the Church or State, or whatever else may be suggested; and consequently being punish'd by one Independent Power is suffi-

sufficient to answer all the ends of Punish- Chap. 1.  
ment! *It is not to be denied that the Church has a right to punish.*

22. If the Clergy, when a Number of  
em meet in a Council, have a right to de-  
termine for the Christian World (as was  
every where believ'd not long since) when  
they shall eat, and when not; and can  
when they please forbid the use of Flesh;  
as the Papists are for one third of the  
year, and excommunicate all who disobey  
them; why may they not assume the same  
Power about Drinks or Clothes, the times  
of Rising or Going to Bed, or of Working  
or not Working (which is included in the  
power of appointing Holy-days) and get  
Money for Dispensations in these matters?  
for one cannot be accounted a more insolent  
Imposition on the Liberties of Mankind,  
than the others: And they who can assume  
such a Power to themselves, what will they  
not, unless sufficiently curb'd, pretend to;  
and, which is infinitely worse, by virtue of  
Excommunication and Spiritual Anathema's  
bring about?

23. To this may be added, that not only  
an independent Power of Excommunica-  
tion, but of Ordination in the Clergy, is  
inconsistent with the Magistrate's Right to  
protect the Commonwealth; because then  
they may put not only Men of the best  
Abilities to serve the Commonwealth, but  
such great Numbers into Orders, the better  
to carry on their common Interest (which  
we see actually done in Popish Countrys) as  
may tend to the infinite prejudice of the  
State.



24. In a word, there's nothing, if the Clergy were Governors of the Church, which would not belong to their judicial Cognizance: as for instance, they would have a Right to judg concerning all Laws, Leagues and Contracts; and when they find them prejudicial to the Church (of which they are the proper and sole Judges) to declare 'em void and null. So their Power on a Church-account would extend to all that Trade and Commerce which is carry'd on by People of different Religions and Persuasions; because those who are in the right cannot deal with those in the wrong, without conversing with 'em; and so the Church must be infested, which its Governors must have a right to prevent.

25. If the Clergy are Governors of the Church by an independent Right, they must have the same Right to every thing necessary for the Support of the Government; because that, without which the Government cannot subsist, cannot be separated from the Government; with which the Clergy being invested, of course they must have an independent right to lay on their Subjects what Taxes they judg necessary for maintaining the Ecclesiastical State, its Officers and Ministers, and for the Building and Repairing of Churches, and all other Ecclesiastical Edifices: And therefore the Magistrate cannot, by depriving a Man of his Limbs and Libertys, or by burdening him with Civil Taxes or other ways, disable him from paying his Quota of those spiritual Assessments his Ecclesiastical Governors shall impose.

26. If

26. If the same People are to be under different Governors independent of each other, the Civil Governor can have no more power on a Civil Account over the common Subject, than the other on an Ecclesiastical; nor can they hinder one another of the Obedience due to each: and consequently the Magistrate cannot deprive one of his Life or Liberty, or use any other restraining method; because this must either for ever, or for a time, rob the Ecclesiastical Governor of a Subject, to whom he has at all times an independent Right. And by the same reason, he cannot remove him from the District of his spiritual Governor, or indeed from his Parish; because he cannot destroy the Relation between him and his Parish-Priest, nor lay any Commands on him, which are either as to matter or time inconsistent with those of his other Governor. Then as for the Ecclesiasticks themselves, the Magistrates can oblige 'em to nothing that will in the least divert 'em from attending the several Stations in which they are plac'd by the Governors of the Church.

27. On the contrary, the Ecclesiastical Governors cannot oblige People to avoid and shun a Man, because they have no Right to hinder them from conversing about Civil Matters, these being under the Cognizance of the Civil Magistrate: And the common Subject will find it a pretty difficult business to give his Neighbor the Right he has to his Conversation on a Civil Account, and yet wholly to separate

rate from him upon an Ecclesiastical.

28. In brief, as the Civil Magistrate cannot command or punish his Civil Subject, without commanding or punishing the Subject of the Ecclesiastical Magistrate; so 'tis the same *vice versa*, and consequently they must needs destroy each other's Power, and free Men from all Subjection to either.

29. Then as to the Governors themselves, what can be more absurd, than to imagine that one can be Subject to, and Sovereign of the same Person, and be oblig'd to punish him for Rebellion, and yet in so doing be guilty of the same Crime against him, as the Magistrate plainly is, when he puts his Ecclesiastical Governor to death? since dissolving the Relation between the Sovereign and his Ecclesiastical Subjects, if done by one of 'em, is nothing less than a spiritual Rebellion. If on one hand 'tis said that no Governor of a compleat Body Politick can want what's necessary for its Preservation; and consequently the Magistrate, on that account, has a Right to put any of his Subjects to death: On the other side it will be reply'd, that the Church, by reason of its Divine Institution, is the most compleat Body Politick; and therefore its Governors (as no such Body can be without it) must have a Right to meet, when and where they please, sit as often and as long as they think fit; which is inconsistent with a Right in the Magistrate to put 'em to death, or by Punishment or any other way to hinder 'em from exercising this Power,



Power, because then they wou'd be de- Chap. 13  
pendent on him in the highest and most  
essential part of Government, that of Le-  
gislation. But we are not to stop here;  
for

30. This Hypothesis gives the Ecclesi-  
astical Governors, whenever the Safety of  
the Church, the supreme Law, requires it,  
of which they are the Judges, a Power  
over the temporal Sovereign; for the less  
Noble must give place to the more Noble,  
the Temporal yield to the Spiritual, and  
the Church be prefer'd before the State.  
And therefore 'tis no wonder " that not  
" only Popes (g) and Councils have asser-  
" ted the deposing Doctrine, but that the  
" Christian World for more than six hun-  
" dred years did acquiesce in it; and that  
" during that whole time not so much as  
" one Divine, Civilian, Canonist or Ca-  
" suist, writ against it: and those Writers  
" the depos'd Princes got to undertake  
" their Defence, do not in any of their  
" Books pretend to call the Doctrine in  
" general in question. And 'twas not the  
Pope only, but other Bishops who took  
upon 'em to depose their Sovereigns; as  
nothing was more solemn than the *French*  
Bishops, *Anno 833.* deposing the Emperor  
*Ludovicus Pius*, which in their condemna-  
tory Sentence they declare *done by the Coun-  
cil of God and the Authority of the Church*;  
and apply all those Arguments of the Good

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(g) Bishop of Sarum's *Expos. of the 19th Article.*

of Mens Souls, &c. made use of for an independent Power, to justify their Conduct; and to prevent his being restor'd, they first force him to take the Habit of a Penitent, and then declare that no Man after such a *Penance* ought to return to a *Secular Militia*.

31. By what has been here urg'd, 'tis very plain, that there cannot be more than one Independent Power: and if that belongs to the Magistrate, the Clergy can have none, except it be deriv'd from him, as all dependent Power must be. But if this is in the Clergy, the Magistrate can be no more than their Subject in Civils, as well as in Ecclesiasticals; and therefore they who are for such a Power in the Clergy, however they may complement the Magistrate, deal with him, as the *Epicureans* did of old with God, *Verbis ponere, re tollere*.

32. It may be said, no Clergymen own all these Consequences: the Popish Priests own as many as serve to exempt themselves (tho the Reason holds as strongly for the Laity) and all that belongs to 'em from the Magistrate's Power, and to make him no better than their Executioner; and upon refusing that noble Office, to forfeit his Dominions. Nay *Bellarmino* (h) goes so far as to assert that 'tis no less than *Heresy* to deny that the Pope has it in his Power to dispose of all private Mens Estates, as well as the Dia-

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(h) *Bellarmino's Answer to Barclay, of the Temporal Power of the Pope.*

*dem's of Kings, if he see it good and profitable for the Holy Church.* And it cannot be imagin'd, that those of the Protestant Clergy who maintain the Doctrine of their Independency, do it barely as a speculative Opinion; but for the sake of its advantageous Consequences, which shou'd they pretend to all at once, they would be so far from gaining their Point, that they wou'd make Men see the Absurdity of that Principle, whence so many enslaving Doctrines follow.

33. Their way is to get one thing by it first, then another, next a third; till at last every new Step being made a new Argument, it will be too late to deny them any thing. It was by this method (for *Rome* was not built in a day) that formerly the Priesthood by degrees advanc'd it self to so prodigious a height; tho there are some now, who with too general an approbation have, by virtue of this Principle, tho contrary to the Laws of the Church and State, and their very Oaths, set up for more Power of late, than in former times was claim'd in some Centurys. And if the Ecclesiasticks, when they were openly debauch'd, and scandalously ignorant, and therefore not so much in Credit with the Laity, could carry things so high, there's no reason to think, but that now, since the restor'd Learning of *Europe* is principally lodg'd with 'em, and they do not appear so dissolute in their Manners, and consequently have a greater influence on the People, they will be able by degrees to make 'em, if they are once so foolish as



to allow the Premises, see and feel too the Conclusion; especially if ever they come to be better united among themselves, and agree where to place this Power. 'Twill then be in vain to have recourse to Laws and Statutes; all human Constitutions must be only wast Paper, when inconsistent with a Divine Right. As for instance, let it once be allow'd that the Clergy are independent in the Exercise of their Offices, it cannot be deny'd 'em to be as independent in every thing that's necessary for it; and if the Magistrate cannot deprive 'em, he cannot put 'em to death, since one is unavoidably included in the other. Allowing the Magistrate a power of putting a Priest to death, and denying him that of a bare Deprivation, is not for the advantage of the Clergy; since then he will be forc'd to deprive 'em of their Lives, whenever he finds it necessary to remove 'em from their Office. And if the Legislative Power had done so by the Non-swearing Bishops, all the Schism and the other most dreadful Consequences which Mr. *Dodwel* supposes to flow from their being barely depriv'd, wou'd have been avoided.

34. To affirm, as the Nonjurors do, that the Magistrate cannot deprive a Bishop but by taking away his Life, is to say, he cannot remove some part of the Punishment, which he might justly exact, without remitting the whole; and may provoke him to proceed to Extremity in order to make his Sentence of Deprivation take effect.

fect. Yet 'tis not by Death only, that the Chap. 1.  
Magistrate can deprive a Bishop, but by  
perpetual Imprisonment or Banishment,  
with a prohibition to all the rest of his  
Subjects of corresponding with him ;  
because then all the Christians of that  
Bishop's District, as well as all others,  
are bound in Conscience to avoid Corre-  
spondence with him all his Life. To sup-  
pose the Spiritual Authority of the Bishop  
over his Flock independent of the Ma-  
gistrate, as founded on a distinct Charter;  
and yet to suppose it so precarious, that  
he can take it from him by virtue of, or as  
a Consequence of his secular Authority, is  
to suppose the Bishop's Power distinct  
from, and independent of the Magistrate's  
Power, and at the same time subject to,  
and at the mercy of it. But the handling  
this Point fully being so essential for deter-  
mining the Controversy, I hope the Reader  
will not think I insist too long on it, tho be-  
fore I part with it I demand,

35. Whether the Clergy, when they ex-  
communicate for things of a Civil Nature,  
such as Wills, Administration of Personal  
Estates, &c. act by a Power deriv'd from  
Christ, or from the Magistrate? If from  
the former, why do not all other Matters  
relate to their Cognizance as well as these?  
for why are Personal Estates more of an  
Ecclesiastical Nature than Real? Or to give  
another Instance, why are the most gross  
and carnal Causes, such as Fornication,  
Adultery, &c. more spiritual than others?  
And if these belong to their Ecclesiastical

Jurisdiction, why not all? Which must exclude the Magistrate, since both cannot have a Right to judg concerning the same Matters. But if in these Civil Causes, they judg by a Power deriv'd from him, they are no more than his Deputys and Ministers; and consequently have no Right to judg, or inflict any Punishment, which he, by whose Authority they act, bestows not on 'em. And therefore if the Power of Excommunication did not belong to him, he cou'd not give them a Right to use it. And 'tis plain they have none of their own in these Matters, because where they have no Right to exercise a judicial Power, they can have none to excommunicate, or inflict any other Punishment: And therefore it necessarily follows, that whence they derive the one, they must the other.

36. Again, the Magistrate can have no Right to use Force, except as he has the Supreme Power: for where that belongs to the Priests, he can be no more than their Deputy, or rather (since they allow no Layman capable of that) their Executioner; but they having no Right to Force, cannot impower him to use it. Therefore, without disowning he has any such Power in Ecclesiasticals, as well as a Right to authorize them to excommunicate in Civils, they cannot deny his Supremacy in both; and consequently that they have no Power in the National Church not deriv'd from him.

37. *Obj.* It may be said, That *tho* God has given the Clergy the Government of the Church, yet he has oblig'd the Magistrate to assist



assist them in putting their Decrees in execution, &c. But, *Chap. 1*

*Ans.* If the Magistrate is to assist the Governors of the Church, as the Clergy call themselves, it can be in those Matters only to which his Power extends; for as to any other he is no more than a private Person, and therefore can have no Right to issue out Writs *de excommunicato capiendo*, or any otherwise to punish a Person for being censur'd by the Clergy: since his Power reaches not to Excommunication, nor to the Causes for which they inflict it; and consequently in punishing for these things, if they belong not to his Cognizance, he punishes unjustly. And therefore the Clergy in *Scotland* act now very consistently, in not suffering the Magistrate to back their Spiritual Excommunication with any Temporal Force. To go further than this, and affirm that the Publick is bound to employ their Force in executing the Decrees of the Clergy, necessarily supposes they have a Right to command it; and that the Magistrate, as well as the rest of the Laity, is only their Executioner, being oblig'd right or wrong to enforce their Commands: For the Magistrate must act ministerially, if he executes not his Own but Another's Laws, and can have no more Power than what he derives from that Legislature. But if you say it is his own Laws he executes, then the Clergy, like other private Persons, can offer Advice only; of which he is to judge, and enact or not enact according to Discretion.

If

If you say, he is not to judg but enforce, then the Absurdity you wou'd avoid will return, that the Clergy have a Right to command the force of the Society; and that the Magistrate acts as their Minister only, and can have no Right to use Force unless they cou'd give it him. The Popish Clergy speak plain in this Matter, and declare, that if the Magistrate does not obey the Commands of the Church in extirpating all those they judg to be Hereticks, he forfeits his Dominions. But others most grossly contradict themselves: for first they say, that all Ecclesiastical Matters belong by Divine Right to their judicial Cognizance, as they are Governors of the Church, [and that the Magistrate cannot meddle with 'em without Sacrilege; and yet at the same time they tell him it's his Duty to make Laws, and put those Laws in execution, in all Ecclesiastical Matters whatever. But if one Prince shou'd desire another to come into his Country, and there execute a Legislative and Executive Power in all things belonging to his Cognizance; this wou'd not be demanding his Assistance, but giving up his whole Power: and he wou'd be guilty of the most apparent Contradiction, if he shou'd afterwards say that the Prince he has thus empower'd was only a private Person, and his Subject; and cou'd not without Sacrilege meddle with any thing which belong'd to his Cognizance. And is not this the very same which too many of the Protestant Clergy affirm?

38. The Distinction they have recourse Chap. I.  
to, as they never want one on occasion, is,  
That the Magistrate, tho he has no *Eccle-*  
*siastical* Power, has all *Civil* Power in *Eccle-*  
*siasticals*. But,

If the word *Civil* had been omitted, it  
had been a direct Contradiction; and if  
adding that makes any Alteration, it must  
be because *Civil* is oppos'd to *Ecclesiastical*;  
and then 'tis as good Sense as if they had  
talk'd of his Maritime Power in *Ecclesi-*  
*asticals*. What they aim at by this sense-  
less Distinction, is, that they would en-  
gross the whole Power to themselves: but  
because they cannot come directly at Force,  
the Magistrate shall promulgate, but they  
shall first decree; he shall enforce, but it  
must be their Determinations. So that  
the Civil Supremacy they complement him  
with, is to be their Tool, and Instru-  
ment to execute, on pain of their *Eccle-*  
*siastical* Displeasure, whatever they com-  
mand. This, as (a) *James* the First justly  
expresses it, *is to transfer the King* (and I  
may add Parliament too) *into a standing*  
*Image; yea to bring him down to the basest*  
*Condition, to become only the Executioner,*  
*and (what I scorn to speak) the unhappy*  
*Hangman of the Clergy's Will.* And in truth,  
after the extravagant Complements they  
usually bestow on Sovereign Princes, to  
deal thus with 'em, is so great a Mock-  
ery, that it was never outdone by any,

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(a) *King James's Works*, p. 428.



except the Jewish Priests, when they bow'd the Knee, and worship'd our Saviour, crying, *Hail King of the Jews*, and then crucify'd him.

39. It possibly will be said, I have all this while been doing these Gentlemen a great deal of wrong; since it evidently appears they are so far from setting up two Independent Powers in the same Kingdom, that they wou'd have no manner of Power Independent except their own.

I answer, 'Tis very true, they as little believe such a System practicable, as they desire it shou'd be so. But they think it the best Policy, as things now stand, to complement the Civil Government with a Power, which in spite of 'em it actually exercises and enjoys; and at the same time to keep up the continual Claim and Pretence of such a Power in themselves. So that till they can recover their Privileges in as ample a manner as in some neighbouring Countrys, they are graciously pleas'd in the mean time to banter the Magistrate with the same Conditions which *Trincalo* allow'd his Competitor *Stephano*, when he told him, You shall indeed be *Viceroy*, provided I be *Viceroy* over you.

My Design therefore is to expose the Weakness and Vanity of this idle Shift and wretched Subterfuge, to which they only have recourse as a Shelter in stormy Weather, and are sure to throw off, as soon as the glorious Sunshine of their *Jus Divinum* administers not only means of  
Saf ety,

Safety, but matter of Triumph for 'em to Chap. I.  
 appear without disguise. Then will it be  
 their proper turn to shew the Absurdity  
 of two Independent Powers, and to de-  
 monstrate the Impossibility of a Penetra-  
 tion (if I may so call it) of Bodys Poli-  
 tick. Then will they tell us, that they  
 admitted this Notion only for the Hard-  
 ness of our Hearts, and to comply with  
 the Necessities of the Times, and the Usur-  
 pations of an Apostate and Degenerate Age.  
 But,

40. *Tho it shou'd be allow'd, that the Clergy  
 have no Legislative, Independent, or Supreme  
 Power, since there cannot be two Legislators in  
 the same Society; yet may they not have a Ju-  
 risdiction or coercive Power, which they derive  
 not from the Society, nor their Representatives,  
 but from God himself?*

*Ans.* If the Clergy have no Legislative  
 Power, they cannot be Governors of the  
 Church; because there can be no Govern-  
 ment without it, to which all Jurisdiction  
 necessarily adheres. For whoever has any  
 coercive Power, must be either a Legisla-  
 tor himself, or else act by virtue of a  
 Power deriv'd from him whose Minister  
 he then is, and whose Will he executes;  
 for the doing of which he can have no  
 more than a precarious Right, dependent  
 on the Pleasure of the Legislator. So that  
 if the Clergy have no Legislation, 'tis im-  
 possible they shou'd have any Jurisdiction,  
 except, like others, they derive it from  
 the Legislators; since a Right to inflict  
 Punishment can only accrue to a Legislator  
 on

on the Breach of his Laws, of which he may either judg in Person, or by a Deputy: but without this no Man is capable of Jurisdiction, because where there is no Power to make Laws, there can be no Pretence to punish for Breach of Laws. And therefore not only the Magistrate's, but even God's Right to inflict Punishment is built on his Right to Legislation; and all Sin or Guilt, and consequently all Punishment, supposes Breach of Law. But what Breach of Law, Disobedience, Contempt or Contumacy (the usual Pretence for Excommunication) is there in not submitting to the Decrees of the Clergy, when their very pretending to Legislation is Treason against their Sovereign, and a gross Usurpation on the Rights of their Fellow-Subjects?

41. And yet without this Power 'tis impossible they shou'd be able to bestow any Ecclesiastical Office, even where there is no Jurisdiction annex'd to it; because as that is commanding the Person who has it to exercise it, so 'tis forbidding all others: And what is Commanding or Forbidding, except Legislation? The same may be said of Deprivation; because by it they render the Exercise of that Office, which before they had made a Duty, unlawful. And in giving or depriving one of an Ecclesiastical Office, they make it not only a Duty in the Person to execute or not execute it, but in others to join or not join with him. And what can Legislation do more than make a thing  
 no morally



morally necessary or morally impossible? Chap. I.

42. The same may be said of Excommunication; for what can carry more of Legislation than the commanding every one of the Society to be the Executioners of their Sentence, by obliging 'em to shun and avoid the Person they excommunicate, on pain of the same Punishment?

43. To evade this 'tis said, That *the People are bound to avoid the Conversation of ill Men, and that the Clergy by their Excommunication only declare this.*

*Ans.* If a Power in general to declare an ill Man is to be avoided, were all to which they pretend, every Lay and Private Person, who is oblig'd, as often as he sees occasion, to declare as much, might excommunicate. But this can be no manner of Pretence for erecting Courts of Judicature, and punishing Persons for Non-appearance, and all other Contempts of their Independent Jurisdiction, and Judicially pronouncing a Sentence of Excommunication against this or that Person, and by virtue of it obliging every one to shun all Converse with him, till they are pleas'd to absolve him; without giving 'em leave to judg whether he is guilty of the Crime for which they condemn him, or if guilty, whether he has sufficiently repented of it.

44. In a word, if the Clergy have no Legislative Power, nor are entrusted to put the Will of the Legislator in execution, they can only have a Right to advise; there being no Medium between that and Legif-

**Legislation:** Nor can they pretend to more in those things where there can be no Legislative Power, but every one is to judge for himself; and consequently in the making Ecclesiastical Laws or Persons, or inflicting Ecclesiastical Censures, or in the managing any other Ecclesiastical Matters, they can claim no more Power by Divine Right than any other Members of the Church.

Thus having prov'd in this Chapter, that the Clergy, for want of Legislation, have no *Temporal* or *External* coercive Power; I shall show in the next, that they have no *Internal* or *Spiritual* Jurisdiction given 'em by God.

## CHAP.

## CHAP. II.

That the Spiritualities claim'd by the Clergy who set up for an Independency, are either such as are peculiar to the Divine Nature, or else were only bestow'd on the Apostles; and that both these serve 'em as a Pretence for invading the Rights of the People, and of their Representatives.

1. **N**OT to insist on what I have already prov'd, that if the Clergy have no Legislation, they have no Jurisdiction of any sort whatsoever; I say, that their assuming to themselves a Jurisdiction, and terming it *Internal*, in contradistinction to the Magistrate's, which they call *External*, is only amusing the People with Words, and a Blind to make Men believe a Difference where there's none, in order to usurp a Power which belongs not to 'em. For the Church being a visible Society, the Actions of the Governors of it, when they use a coercive Power, must be as visible and external as any relating to the Commonwealth. As for instance, is not Excommunication as external as Outlawry? and Deprivation of



*Ecclesiastical*, as external as that of *Civil Offices*? Now as much as any human Punishment can be suppos'd to be invisible and internal, so much it loses of its chiefest Design, the terrifying others from committing the like; for which reason all Punishments are made as publick as can be.

2. But they say, *Theirs is Internal, because it binds the inward Man, and is obligatory in foro Conscientiæ.*

How this can serve to distinguish their Power from the Magistrate's, I cannot understand; unless they destroy all Obligation to him on the account of Conscience; and, contrary to the Apostle's Rule, submit to him for fear only, and so make no Power except their own obliging in Conscience, knowing two such are a Contradiction. As taking it in this sense is invading the Rights of the Magistrate; so, if they mean by it a Power over the Conscience or Mind of Man, 'tis no less than usurping upon the Prerogative of God himself, in whose hands alone are the Hearts of Man to wind and turn as he pleases; in this, he appoints none to be his Deputy or Vicegerent: here Man can only act ministerially, in trying to persuade by Reasons and Arguments; neither Excommunication, nor any other Punishment can reach the Understanding. And Men, when they most impiously endeavour to assume a Power over Conscience, the most they can do, is to make Hypocrites.

3. 'Tis said, *The Punishment the Clergy inflict is not of the same nature with that of the*

the Magistrate; because, tho the Sentence is Chap. 2.  
pronounc'd in this Life, yet Men chiefly find  
the effects of it in the next; and for that rea-  
son they call it Spiritual.

All Punishment must be either Eternal or Temporal; the first can only belong to God himself (upon whom all things for their Duration depend) he alone knows who deserves it, and in what degree: So that no Man can have the Power to punish one eternally, or by any Action of his cause God to do so; because none can suffer in the next World, unless for breaking God's Laws, that is, by doing what God has forbid, or omitting what he has commanded. And therefore we need fear no Punishment hereafter on account of any Actions of the Priest; and consequently his Excommunicating, Cursing, Damning, Anathematizing, &c. cannot render a Man's Condition, as to the next World, worse than his own Actions, by which he must stand or fall, will make it: much less have the Clergy a Power to deliver any over to Satan, or shut Heaven's Gates against him, when his Actions do not deserve it; and when these do, they alone, not any of the Priests, do make him suffer. The more one is put in mind of his Duty, whether by a Lay or Clergyman, the greater, 'tis certain, his Punishment will be for not observing it: Yet then 'tis not another's putting him in mind of his Duty, but his own Neglect in not following it, which is the cause of it.

FINIS

AMEN

4. In short, since 'tis most evident that God will either reward or punish Men as their Actions deserve, the Clergy, with respect to t'other World, can only have a *Declarative* Power, to assure 'em that God will deal with 'em as they have or have not observ'd his Laws: which is no more than what they share in common with the rest of Mankind, who, as they see occasion, are to remind one another of the Consequence of good and bad Actions; tho 'tis a Clergyman's more peculiar Business, as set apart and maintain'd by the Society for that end.

5. If the Clergy have a greater Power than this, it must be *Judicial*; since between that and Declaratory there's no Medium: for where they cannot themselves judg, they can only declare the Judgment of another. If there be then a Judicial Power, they can *save* or *damn* as they think fit; and God is bound to execute their Sentences, tho they condemn a *Good* and absolve an *Ill* Man; because a Sentence pronounc'd by a competent Authority is *Valid*, tho 'tis not *Right*; and consequently it wou'd be no great matter how People liv'd, cou'd they at last obtain absolution from these Judges, to whom (on this Supposition) Men ought to pay Divine Worship rather than to God himself; since the Power of Damning and Saving is in them, and God himself is no more than their Executioner.

6. By what's said, 'tis plain, that if by Internal or Spiritual, the Clergy mean

† 2 †

*Eternal,*



*Eternal*, they cannot without the most horrid Blasphemy pretend to such a coercive Power; and to set up for any External or Temporal Power, wou'd be to contradict themselves, since by their own Confession this belongs to the Magistrate. But, if they can find any Punishment which is neither Temporal or Eternal, neither inflicted in this or the next Life, let 'em with all my heart manage it as independently as they please, and under what Titles they think fit, provided they leave Eternal Punishment to God himself, and Temporal to those the People have entrusted with that Power. But,

7. If Men scruple not thus to invade the Sacred and Incommunicable Power of *God*, 'tis not to be wonder'd that they encroach on the Natural Rights of the *People*, as well as the *Magistrate's* Prerogatives, and make one Usurpation a Pretence for t'other, as they most manifestly do in this case; since they exclude both from having any thing in the ordering of Church-Matters, and from the Incapacity of executing any Ecclesiastical Office or Employ, because they have not, say they, the Power of the *Keys*: By which 'tis plain they do not mean a Declarative Power, because that being common to all, cou'd be no Pretence for excluding them. Besides, if they meant only that, why do they assert upon all occasions, that the Punishment they cause to be inflicted by their Excommunication, as far exceeds the severest the Magistrate can make men suffer,

as the Torments of the next World do those of this? And to persuade People these are the Effects of it, they will suffer none, who die under this Censure, to have a Christian Burial; nay, it was not unfrequent in former times to inflict Spiritual Censures on dead Persons, and there have been Synods which have declar'd in particular who are liable to be so punish'd; as that (a) Synod of Carthage, which anathematiz'd a Bishop after his death, for making an Infidel or Heretick, tho ever so near of kin, his Heir. And,

8. 'Tis plain, that 'tis a Judicial Power they pretend to, by the several Forms of Excommunication which have from time to time been us'd in the Church; of which we have good store in Mr. Selden's *Synedrion*, especially *Lib. 1. cap. 10.* to instance only in one, and that establish'd by a Council at Roan, mention'd by Ivo, and Buchar, which runs thus: " (b) By the Power  
" and Authority which God has committed  
" to our Meanness, to bind and loose both  
" in Heaven and in Earth, we shut M. N.  
" out of the Pale of the Church, as well  
" in Heaven as in Earth, and decree him

(a) Can. 81. ab Exiguo collect.

(b) Nostræ Mediocritatis autoritate & potestate nobis divinitus collatâ, ligandi & solvendi in cælo & in terris, a limitibus sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ in cælo & in terris excludimus, & excommunicatum & anathematizatum esse decernimus, & damnatum cum Diabolo & Angelis ejus, & omnibus Reprobis in igne æterno judicamus, &c.

Excom.

“ Excommunicated and Anathematiz’d, and Chap. 2.  
 “ sentence him to be damn’d with the Devil  
 “ and his Angels, and all wicked Men in  
 “ Hell-fire to all Eternity. ’Tis by virtue  
 of this Judicial Power, that the Clergy exalt  
 the meanest Priest as much above the greatest  
 Prince, as Heaven is above Earth. The  
 Learned Mr. *Dodwel*, as he affirms “ that  
 “ both the *Greek* and *Latin* Churches did  
 “ agree in making the Bishops superior to  
 “ Kings; so he says, They laid the Founda-  
 “ tion of their Superiority on the Authority  
 “ they had of binding in the next World;  
 “ and that it was by virtue of this Power  
 “ that St. *Ambrose* drove the Emperor *Theo-*  
 “ *dosius* the Great from the Chancel of the  
 “ Clergy (with whom it seems he was so  
 presumptuous as to pretend to sit.) “ And  
 “ he thinks that all indifferent Judges must  
 “ prefer the Power of *obliging* God to open  
 “ and shut Heaven’s Gates, according to the  
 “ Sentence of the Bishop, before a thousand  
 “ Kingdoms.

Paræn. de  
 Schism.  
 Anglic.  
 p. 222.

9. The most Celebrated St. *Chrysostom* (to  
 mention no other) says, “ Earthly Princes  
 “ have power indeed to bind, but ’tis our  
 “ Bodys only; but the Power of Priests  
 “ touches also our very Souls, yea it reaches  
 “ even to Heaven it self, in such sort, as  
 “ whatsoever they determine here beneath,  
 “ that God does ratify above, confirming the  
 “ Sentence of his Servants on Earth. And  
 “ what will you say then of this, but that all  
 “ Heavenly Power is granted to the Priests  
 “ in this World? And in another place, Homil.  
 “ The Lord follows the Servant, Heaven  
 “ waits



“ waits and expects the Priest's Sentence. But more Authoritys of this kind are to be found in a late reprinted Sermon, which, agreeably to this Doctrine, censures the Dis- use of Auricular Confession. And in so de- sperate a Condition do the Priests suppose one bound by them to be, that they reckon it unlawful, not only to pray with him, but for him; which wou'd be against all the Rules of Charity, were he not in such a State as made all Prayers for him to no purpose. So that 'tis plain they claim a Judicial Power, and by virtue of it the Go- vernment of the Church, and thereby (par- don the Expression) become Traitors both to God and Man.

Bp Spar-  
row's Ser-  
mon of Ab-  
solution and  
Confession,  
preach'd be-  
fore the  
University  
of Cambr.  
in 1637.

ro. Some say that the natural Idea of these words, *By Authority committed unto, &c. I absolve thee from thy Sins*, is, that the Priest has a Power of pardoning 'em. And what helps to confirm 'em in this Opinion is, as they say, that 'tis not per- mitted to a Deacon, who is allow'd to have Authority enough for the rest of the Pray- ers, to pronounce this, or any other Form of Absolution \* . Mr. Johnson upon the

\* The Bp of Sarum supposes, that tho the Idea naturally arising from these words, *I absolve thee, &c.* is, that the Priest pardons Sins, yet we of this Church understand by it only the full Peace and Pardon of the Church; and that this Form, scarce known till the 14th Century, became in little more than sixty years the universal Practice of the whole Latin Church. So sure a thing, adds he, is Tradi- tion, and so impossible to be chang'd, as the Papists pretend, that within the compass of one Age the new Form, *I absolve thee*, was not so much as generally known; and before the end of it, the old Form of doing it in a Prayer with Imposi- tion of Hands, was quite worn out, Exp. of Artic. p. 283, 284.

Messieurs

Messieurs of *Port-royal* saying on this Text, Chap. 2.

Prov. 28. 15. *As a roaring Lion and a ranging Bear, so is a wicked Ruler over the poor People,* iln' *appartinent* que de Dieu

dire des verites si etonantes; replies,

“That God is so good Authority, that

“any Man may safely say such astonishing

“Truths after him. Which I may apply

to this Point, and say, that if the Clergy

mean by their Absolving Power, only a de-

claring that God will pardon a penitent

Sinner; God is certainly so good an Autho-

rity, that any one, as well as a Priest, may

venture to affirm such a Comforting Truth

after him.

Clergymen, when they are press'd hard

with the Absurditys of a Judicial Power;

acknowledg that an unjust Judgment of

theirs has no effect; yet then they say,

'tis not for want of such a Power, but be-

cause the Sentence was pronounc'd, *clave*

*errante*, as they phrase it. But if God

will not reward a Good, or punish an Ill

Man, more or less for their Decrees; what

can be more absurd than to call that a Ju-

dicial Power, which has no manner of Effect

or Operation? Who is there that might not

as well pretend to such a Power with re-

lation to this World; and upon guessing

at the Doom of a Prisoner, tho he cou'd

no ways alter it, cry, that he either judg'd

*clave errante* or *non errante*? But if a Man,

who on no better Pretence than this, in-

vaded the Rights of the Magistrate and of

his Fellow-Subjects, ought to be punish'd as

a senseless impudent Impostor; what must

he

he deserve, who does the same thing on the most impious Pretence which can be, that of claiming a Judicial Power with respect to the next World?

In short, the Clergy have no Pretence for claiming an Independent Jurisdiction, which is not either invading the Incommunicable Rights of God, or else assuming such a Miraculous Power as belong'd to the Apostles; of which I shall give an Instance or two. The People, say they, cannot *make* a Clergyman, because they cannot give the *Holy Ghost*; this being a Privilege peculiar to themselves, and essential to the Being of a Clergyman. I wou'd gladly know of these Gentlemen what they mean by Giving the *Holy Ghost*; His *Person*, I suppose, they will not pretend to dispose of; and then they can only mean his *Gifts*, either Extraordinary or Ordinary. If the first, then they can bestow the Gift of Miracles, such as Prophecy, speaking with Tongues, restoring the Blind or Lame, and curing Distempers with a Touch or Word's speaking, &c. As to the second, if they can bestow the ordinary Gifts, as Meekness, Patience, Love, Charity, Moderation, Humility, &c. no Clergyman wou'd be without these, since all have the *Holy Ghost* given 'em. Plainly the Clergy cannot now pretend a Right to the disposing of the Extraordinary Gifts of the Holy Spirit, unless they had a Power equal to that of the Apostles (who bestow'd 'em alike on the Laity as well as on the Clergy) nor to the Ordinary,

with



without assuming a Power greater than Chap. 2.  
 theirs; These being the Gifts of God alone, reserv'd for those who by their Lives and Conversations make themselves meet to receive 'em. But if by giving the *Holy Ghost* be here only meant giving a Right to exercise an Ecclesiastical Office; to say no others can give such a Right because they cannot bestow the *Holy Ghost*, is only saying they cannot give a Right because they cannot, both signifying the same thing: And if they mean any thing more by giving the *Holy Ghost*, as necessary to the Being of a Clergyman, there has been none since the Apostles time. And therefore I shou'd be glad to see some good Reason assign'd, why Ordaining a Clergyman is by some call'd Giving the *Holy Ghost*; sure it cannot be in order to cheat the People of their Right, and create in mens Minds a Veneration for the Clergy at present, equal to what they have for the Apostles. The Bishop of (g) *Sarum*, tho he confesses " that the Use of the  
 " Form of giving Orders by these words,  
 " *Receive ye the Holy Ghost*, is not above  
 " 500 Years old, and is taken from Words  
 " of our Saviour, which the Church in her  
 " best Times thought were not apply'd  
 " to this, tho proper for Him to use who  
 " had the Fulness of the Spirit to give  
 " at pleasure; and therefore seems to  
 " have a Sound too bold and too assuming,

“as if we cou’d convey the Holy Ghost. Tho he, I say, grants this, yet he endeavours to justify this Form, and supposes it to be in the nature of a Wish or Prayer: but no Man’s Wishes or Prayers that another may receive the Holy Ghost, can be a reason to debar those to whom it of course belongs from making of Clergymen; and I hope the Magistrate, or any one else, without being guilty of Sacrilege, may pretend to bestow the Holy Spirit, if nothing else is meant by that solemn Expression, *Receive ye the Holy Ghost*, besides wishing the Clergy to be better than they are.

12. The same may be said of *Consecrating* a Bishop; for if by it they mean, they can bestow any Holiness on him, or give any Gifts of the Spirit, either Ordinary or Extraordinary, nothing can be more false: But if they pretend only to pray to God that he will give the Bishop sufficient Holiness to execute his Office rightly, that can be no reason for them to engross the making him to themselves.

13. And here I cannot but observe, that the Popish Clergy make very bold with the three Persons of the Sacred Trinity. The First they employ as their Executioners, to put their Judicial Sentences in force. The Second they make out of a bit of Bread, and then eat him (tho there are others who allow this Privilege to the Teeth of the Faithful only.) The Third they very freely dispose of, at least his Gifts, to all they lay hands on; tho there are

are some who say, that if the Popish Chap. 2.  
Priests have any Spirit bestow'd on 'em in  
their going into Orders, 'tis that of the  
Priest of *Apollo*, when full of the God he  
cry'd,

*Iam furor humanum nostro de pectore sensum  
Expulit, & totum spirant præcordia Phœbum.*

And that what share soever they might  
have of the Holy Spirit before Ordination,  
they then are possess'd of no other Spirit  
than that of Pride, Ambition, Covetous-  
ness, Uncharitableness, Imposition, Malice,  
Revenge, Persecution, &c. And they say  
this is no wonder, when in so serious a Con-  
cern as making of Bishops and Priests, both  
the Ordain'd and the Ordainers in that  
Church act with so solemn a Mockery, one  
in pretending a Call from, and the other in  
giving the Holy Ghost.

As this by no means ought to be ob-  
jected to the Clergy of the Church of *Eng-  
land*, so I hope that which some of 'em  
act at the Election of a Bishop, is no man-  
ner of kin to this Holy Farce of the Pa-  
pists, in imploring the Direction of the  
Holy Ghost to chuse a fit Person, tho  
they are resolv'd beforehand to proceed  
according to the Direction of the *Conge  
d'elire*, and name only him whom they are  
bound to take by that Writ. And agree-  
able with this was the Bishop Elect's so-  
lemnly declaring three times (a Custom  
now discontinu'd) *Nolo episcopari*; no small  
piece of Hypocrisy, except he spoke it  
with



with relation to the Duty, and not to the Honor or Profit of the Place ; for herein he was too often as good as his word. But not to digress:

14. A Clergy-man, 'tis said, is God's Ambassador, therefore the People neither Collective or Representative can make one, because they have no power to send Embassadors from Heaven. But taking Embassadors in that sense, it will, I'm afraid, prove there are now no Clergy-men ; since they who pretend to the sole Power of making 'em, can as little send an Ambassador from God, who alone chuses his own Embassadors.

Christ, and his Apostles, as they were commission'd by God, so they brought their Credentials with 'em visible to Mankind, viz. the Power of working Miracles: But what Credential, or what Mission can these Gentlemen pretend to ? or what Gospel, never before known to the World, are they to discover ? Are they not at the best only Commentators, Note-makers, or Sermon-makers on those Doctrines which the Embassadors of God *once deliver'd to the Saints* ? which many of 'em have render'd by their absurd Glosses and false Comments so perplext and intricate, that only a new Commission from Heaven seems able to set 'em in their due Light ; yet they do not scruple to call their Pulpit-Speeches, *the Word of God*, and apply those Texts to themselves, which belong only to the Embassadors of God.

But let them consider, if he who feigns a Commission from an Earthly King, and acts as his Ambassador without having Authority from him, deserves a severe Punishment; what must they expect, who falsely pretend a Commission from Heaven, and to be no less than the Embassadors of God to Mankind? on whose Wisdom 'tis no small Reflection to imagine he has chosen such Persons to represent him. Tho if we will take one of the Treason-absolving Priest's words for it, *(h) Every Priest is one of the principal Ministers in God's Kingdom, to preside in his Worship, publish his Laws, pass his Pardons, and represent his Person.* I do not wonder that Men so sanguine, as to think thus of themselves, are puff'd up with intolerable Pride and Insolence; and that they look down with Scorn and Contempt on the simple Laity, who (poor Men) can hope for no Absolution, if some of these principal Ministers in God's Kingdom will not vouchsafe to pass their Pardons.

And in truth, a Man cannot well help being strangely elated in his Thoughts, to find himself exalted he knows not how (perhaps from a poor Servitor, and running on College-Errants) to so great and glorious Preferment, as to be a prime Minister in God's Kingdom, to represent no less than the Person of the Omnipresent Being, to be able to dispose of the Holy

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*(h)* Collier's View of the Immorality of the Stage, p. 127, 128.

Ghost, to have the Keys of Heaven and Hell at his Girdle: and as a Consequence of this, to have Kings and Emperors, as well as the Mass of Mankind, render him Spiritual Obedience. So great, so miraculous a Power confer'd by the formality of laying hand over head on a Man, tho ever so vile and unworthy, is sufficient to make him, if weak enough to believe it, vain, giddy and insolent. But,

Were it not for these extravagant, wild and profane Notions (which some call their Spiritualities) nothing can be plainer than that all Ecclesiastical Power has no other Foundation than the Consent of the Society. To instance in the two chief Points, the making of Clergymen, and Excommunication. As to the first;

16. What's more requir'd to give one a Right to exercise the Office of a Minister in any particular Congregation, than an Agreement among them to chuse a Person capable, and willing to take upon him that Function, and consent to hear him say Prayers, preach, and administer the Sacraments? And what is depriving or deposing him, except agreeing not to hear him any longer, or own him any more for their Minister? And this private Churches may do by a Right natural to all Societys whatsoever, since 'tis only a Liberty of their own Actions in hearing, or not hearing such a Person pray or preach, or in receiving or not receiving the Sacraments from him. And this they must have had a Right to do, before



before National Churches came in use: for till then, as no Minister nam'd his Successor, so each Congregation being independent of another, and the Magistrate not interposing, must have had a Right of constituting their own Ministers, and of ordering all other Church-matters; and no other cou'd be concern'd than by their Consent and Approbation. So that here's no room for the independent Power of any Set of Priests: And as little is there for it in a National Church, which only the Legislature of that Nation can constitute; and consequently one cannot suppose a National Church, without allowing the Magistrate the Power of dividing it into Parishes, Diocesses, Provinces, or otherwise modelling it as he thinks fit, and of determining the Form of Ecclesiastical Government, and the Qualifications of such as are to be admitted into any Ecclesiastical Benefices under that Form; and upon what Terms they shall hold their Livings, and who shall have the Power of depriving 'em, and putting others in their room; and likewise, of making Laws about all other matters relating to the National Church, and appointing who shall put their Laws in Execution. And therefore the Clergy, who contend not only for the Lawfulness but Necessity of National Churches, give up all their Pretences to an independent Power in every thing relating to 'em, even in the most speculative and mysterious Points: for if they allow that the Magistrate can enact, that no Person shall enjoy any Preferment in the Na-

tional Church, who does not profess such or such Articles, they cannot deny him a Power to deprive any who shall disown 'em; because 'tis only putting those Laws they acknowledg he has a Power to make, in Execution; and by whomsoever he does this whether Lay or Clergy, they act as his Deputys, since a Church, as 'tis Political or National, is a part of the Civil Constitution, And none can doubt of this, who consider that 'tis only the different Sentiments of the Supreme Powers in every Nation, which make the National Churches, or Religions establish'd by Law, to be so infinitely different: and by the reasoning of the Generality of the Clergy, every Man is oblig'd to be of the National Church, because they every where plead for the Magistrate's having a Right to punish all his Subjects as Schismatics who are not of it. And 'tis a sorry evasion to say the Magistrate has this Right only, when the National Church is the true Church; because *True Church*, till apply'd to some particular Church, is only an abstracted Notion: which if every one is to apply for himself, the Magistrate has no more power in this case than any other; but if he has the applying it for his Subjects, then a Right to punish 'em for not being of the True Church, or of the Church he judges to be True, is the same thing; and consequently must every where oblige People to be of the National Church, or every where alike subject 'em to Punishment; and accordingly we see 'tis every where urg'd by the Priests

†

who

who are uppermost. But to return:

17. The Point next to be consider'd is the power of Excommunication, which the Clergy pretend gives 'em a Right to debar Men not only from the Church, but from all Civil Converse and Society. Yet Men in the state of Nature, as they had a Right of keeping, or not keeping company with whom they thought fit (this being only a Liberty of their own Actions), so upon their changing that State, they had the same Right of investing the Magistrate with a power of restraining this as well as any other Liberty; and of obliging them for just Reasons to avoid Converse with this or that Person. And I can see no Cause why the Clergy may not as well pretend to use Force, as to exclude whom they think fit from conversing with the rest of the Society, as they do even about Civil and Temporal Affairs: because a liberty of Mens Actions in Conversing or not Conversing, was certainly as much in their Power, as a Right to use Force on others; and consequently, when they form'd themselves into a Body Politick, they cou'd entrust the Magistrate with one as well as the other.

18. But since the Magistrate cannot prescribe to all Men what Company they shall keep or avoid, they will still retain, so much Liberty as to have that, in all those Cases where he does not interpose, in their own disposal; as 'tis plain from the practice of all private Societys, Companys and Clubs, who daily exclude those Mem-



bers who act not conformably to the Rules they have agreed on.

19. And it was by this Natural Right that the Primitive Christians acted; since at first for some Centurys, the Consent of the whole Congregation was requir'd, and every Member had a Vote in Excommunication: and this is naturally so vested in the Community, that he who goes about to excommunicate them or a Majority, is himself the Sufferer. And here it ought to be remember'd, that there is an infinite difference between private Men agreeing among themselves to refuse their Fellowship to any Member of their Society for breaking their common Rules, and one's having an arbitrary Power to exclude from all Communion Ecclesiastical and Civil of a whole Nation, not to say of all *Christendom*, whom he pleases, and as long as he pleases; every one sees this wou'd be dividing the Sovereignty, and by degrees subjecting all to himself.

20. All that can be said for the Clergy's having this Power, is, that 'tis necessarily annex'd to the Right they have of turning Men out of the Church of Christ, the ordinary way of Salvation, and of delivering 'em over to Satan; because it must needs be an impious thing in the Laity, to countenance with their Conversation, Men so dealt with; since conversing with 'em is a Crime next to keeping company with Satan himself. But,

21. Having already prov'd that the Clergy have no Power in relation to the  
next

next World, I shall only further add, that Chap. 2

the Design of all Ecclesiastical Punishment was, as I thought, to *bring* Men into, and not *turn* them out of the ordinary way of Salvation: This an ill Man is apt to do of himself, without the assistance of a Priest. That a Minister of Satan shou'd be zealous for his Master's Service, and endeavour to put into his Clutches as many as he cou'd, is no wonder; but that they who pretend to be the Ministers of Christ, and whose business it is to free Men from his Power, shou'd claim no less than a Divine Right to do this, is wholly astonishing: Which attempt of theirs, tho it certainly can have no effect on others, yet how it will operate on themselves, I will not further determine, than by putting 'em in mind, that the Scripture assures us, *Men shall be judg'd as they judg, and the measure they mete to others shall be measur'd to them again.* But however this may affect 'em hereafter, it must (cou'd they once get it firmly believ'd) make all things here their own; for Men wou'd be glad to compound for all they have in this World (especially when they are going to leave it) not to be debar'd the Happiness of the next.

22. *Obj.* Perhaps it may be said, *Tho the Clergy have no Spiritual Coercive Power (if by that be meant a Power which extends to the next World) yet may they not be able in this Life to inflict a Spiritual Punishment?*

*Ans.* Tho what has been already said is sufficient to prove they have no Coercive Power at all; yet lest they should amuse

People with Words, and claim what Power they have a mind to, by calling it Spiritual; I say, no Punishment can be otherwise Spiritual, than as it tends to hinder Wickedness: and if this did belong to the Clergy, they wou'd have a Right not only to punish for all Crimes whatsoever, but to use the most forcible Means: because Punishment, having no tendency to convince the Understanding, but to curb the Passions only, what is most powerful to that end, must be most Spiritual; that being the only reason why any Punishment can be call'd so: and consequently, if any other Punishment be more effectual to that end than Excommunication, it must be more Spiritual. If the killing *Ananias*, putting out *Elimas*'s Eyes, and the causing People to be tormented in their Bodys, which in Scripture is call'd *delivering over to Satan*, were then Spiritual Punishments; there's no reason they are not so now, if inflicted for the same or as proper ends: for its being by an Ordinary or Extraordinary Power does not alter the nature of the Punishment. Christ's whipping the Buyers and Sellers out of the Temple, was truly a spiritual Punishment; but the Jewish Priests excommunicating those who believ'd in him was far from being so, except it may deserve that name for advancing the spiritual Kingdom of Darkness; to which Excommunication, ever since the Clergy have claim'd an independent Right to it, has been most instrumental.



23. The Clergy affirm, that if they had Chap. 2.  
not the Power to exclude Men from the Church, its Unity cou'd not be preserv'd, nor Divisions or Schisms prevented: which is in effect to say that the way to keep Men in the Church, and thereby preserve its Unity, is to divide the Church, by turning 'em out of it; and that the separating Men from the Church is a proper Course to prevent Schism in it: Just as good sense, as to affirm, that the putting Men out of the common road of Salvation, is the way to save 'em.

## C H A P. III.

*That the Clergy's pretending to have a Divine Right to exclude People from the Church of Christ is as absurd, as their claiming a Power to debar 'em from the Publick Worship is uncharitable: And that this Custom was borrow'd from the Heathen Priests, particularly the Druids. Of the Advantages they gain'd by it.*

**I** Cannot see but it is contrary to the Rules of Charity to exclude Men from the Church, if that be, as the Clergy contend, depriving 'em of the means of eternal Happiness; since they affirm that they, who are not in Communion with 'em, are out of the Pale of the Church, and out of that there's no visible means of Salvation. If so, nothing can be more uncharitable than depriving People of all the known Means of being sav'd.

2. But since Men cannot be turn'd out of any Church, for such matters of Doctrine  
or

or Discipline as are no Terms of Communion; and for those which are, as soon as one is convinc'd they are unlawful, if he acts conscientiously, he will voluntarily renounce all Communion with that Church; and tho nothing can be more common, or more ridiculous, than to pretend by Excommunication to turn out of a Church those who never were of it, or have left it; yet none can properly be said to be excluded from any Church, except he who approves its Terms of Communion, and is willing to continue a Member of it: and therefore it can only be for wicked and immoral Actions that one can be hindred from joining with the Church in the Publick Worship of God. But,

3. What can be more unaccountable, than to hinder a Man from performing one part of his Duty (especially so great a one as the Publick Worship of God) because he has fail'd in another? or if he has offended God publicly, what can be more absurd than to debar him from as publicly desiring his Pardon? But if the not doing one Duty can make amends for the breach of another, he who neglects the Divine Service, ought to be debar'd from doing his Duty to his Neighbour, and so *vice versa*; so that a Man by omitting the Laws of either Table, wou'd be oblig'd to observe neither. But the greater Sinner one is, there's the less reason to debar him from hearing such Sermons, as are made up of Reasons to persuade him to his Duty both to God and Man. And he ought to be frequently told, that till he repents he



is in a state of Damnation, tho' not excluded from the Publick Worship: whereas on the contrary, as much as he is persuaded that his being punish'd in the next World depends upon the Clergy's judicially excluding him the Church, so much it lessens his Belief of the heinousness of Sin, and tempts him to contrive, not how to avoid the Sin, but how to sin in private; or else so to ingratiate himself with the Clergy, as not to be turn'd out of the Church: Which as it wou'd make it their Interest that Men shou'd sin in abundance, because then they wou'd have 'em at their mercy, and in a manner be under a necessity of complying with 'em in all things; To it wou'd encourage People, especially their Favorites, to gratify all their loose Desires; and consequently this Notion, instead of promoting Religion, is a most admirable contrivance to spoil both Priest and People. But,

4. What Pretence can there be for hindering a Sinner from publicly praying to God to have his Sins forgiven, and to be enabled by his Grace to perform those Dutys he is so apt to fail in? If he is to do this in private (nay the greater the Sinner is, the more reason he has to do it) why not in publick? Since that is own'd to be a greater Duty, and more likely to prevail with God. So, why may not he praise God in publick for the Mercys he receives here, and may hereafter, if he observes this as well as other Dutys? Or why may not he publicly express his Gratitude to Christ, by commemorating his Death, since our

Saviour design'd that all, were it not their own fault, shou'd reap the Fruit of it, and the not doing it will add to their Sins? Chap. 3.

5. But tho' the Right of debarring People from the Lord's Supper, is what the Clergy chiefly insist on, yet they generally talk very inconsistently about it; for sometimes they will tell you, 'tis the most dreadful Punishment that can be, infinitely greater than any the Magistrate can inflict; yet at other times they are so far from making it a Punishment, that they say, 'tis a greater kindness than denying a mad Man a Sword to kill himself, for one wou'd only destroy his Body, but t'other his Soul; and God forbid they shou'd be any ways instrumental.

6. In short, Men must be in such Circumstances as make their receiving either a Crime, or a Duty, or a thing indifferent. If the First, the Clergy's Refusal can have nothing of Punishment in it, because 'tis only refusing to contribute to another's Sin, which is every one's Duty to avoid as well as a Clergyman's. If the Second, the Clergy can never have a Right to hinder a Man from doing his Duty; nay, the supposing it his Duty necessarily supposes him, who cannot be forc'd to Impossibilitys, oblig'd to receive it, upon their refusal to administer it, without 'em; for the End cannot be a Duty, but the Means necessary to it must be so too. If the Third, then the Clergy only use a Liberty of their own Actions, in not doing what was in their Power either to do or refuse, and by which  
none

none is prejudic'd: so that in none of these Cases is there any room or pretence for their having any Jurisdiction.

7. Another thing as little accountable, is, that the Clergy, tho they pretend 'tis their Duty to exclude from the Sacrament those they judg unworthy, yet at the same time are for obliging all by Penal Laws to receive it, and for having none qualify'd for Preferment, who take it not of them: Which is either contradicting themselves, and owning none ought to be excluded from it; or else a Design to make whom they please to be punish'd, and likewise incapable of Preferment. The last of which High Church would fain at present set on foot, to supply the place of a Persecuting Bill which has happily miscarry'd. But,

8. Tho an immoral Person may be punish'd by Peoples shunning his Company and Conversation; because he who is govern'd by his brutal Passions, and refuses to live according to the common Law of Reason, has forfeited his Right to the Society of rational Creatures: Yet 'tis contrary to the Rules of Charity, to hinder him from coming to Church; because by hearing good Sermons he may meet with strong and powerful Motives to persuade him to leave his wicked Courses; and by seeing the real and fervent Devotion of good Christians, he wou'd be excited to the same himself; which, in my poor Judgment, is a likelier way to reclaim him, than the excluding him from the Means design'd



sign'd to render Men wiser and better; the Chap. 3.  
want of which can only harden a Man in his  
Impenitence, and by degrees take from  
him all sense of Religion. And People's  
shunning as much as possible the Conversa-  
tion of an ill Man, sufficiently shows they  
do not countenance him in his immoral  
Practices: so that there's no need to ex-  
clude him from Divine Service on that ac-  
count. And 'tis thus treating him that's so  
grievous to him; for he who wou'd be well  
enough pleas'd to be dispens'd with from  
going to Church, cou'd not be much affected  
in being depriv'd of a Liberty he seldom or  
never us'd.

9. In brief, nothing can be a severer Re-  
flection than what many of the Clergy cast  
on themselves, and their own Profession; in  
supposing the best way to make a notorious  
Offender turn from his evil Courses, is to  
have nothing to do with their Ministry;  
and therefore he is to be hinder'd from  
hearing their Sermons, receiving the Sa-  
crament from their hands, or coming near  
the Church where they officiate, lest by so  
doing he should be harden'd in his wicked  
and impenitent Condition; but instead of  
it, he is to be deliver'd over to Satan, as  
a fitter and properer Minister for his Con-  
version: Whereas since the Sick and not  
the Whole need the Physician, the Clergy  
shou'd, like our Saviour, who frequently  
convers'd with Sinners, apply their Ministry  
chiefly to such. But,

10. The Clergy were so fond of the con-  
trary Method, that they have forbid not  
only

only single Persons and Familys, but whole Provinces and Kingdoms, to worship God publickly. This Nation, for instance, was for above six Years together under an Interdict in King *John's* Time, which was taken off upon no other Terms than his submitting the Crown and Kingdom to the Pope, as Head of the Church, and becoming his Vassal and Tributary.

11. To have the Doors of Churches shut, when 'tis to prevent the Worship of God from being perform'd in em, and yet to have 'em open as a Sanctuary for all sorts of Rogues and Villains, gives a true tho faint Idea of the use the Priests, where they act independently, make of their pretended Spiritual Power, and of the Rights and Immunities of *Holy Mother Church*. And what heightens the Idea, is, to consider how they have, on pretence that Oaths are spiritual things, and so belong to their Jurisdiction, encourag'd Perjury in the World, by absolving Subjects from their Oaths to their Sovereigns, and Sovereigns from theirs to one another, and to their Subjects; as the Pope in this Case did King *John*, who at the same time gave his Subjects to the Devil, for insisting on their just Rights and Privileges.

12. It may be here demanded, *Why the Clergy introduc'd so unaccountable a Custom, and which at first sight seems so little for their Honour?*

For the same reason, in all probability, that other Absurditys crept into Religion, To advance their Interest and Power. For had

had Excommunication consisted, as at first, in avoiding the Conversation of an ill Man, and perhaps placing him at some distance from the rest of the Congregation, as the Excommunicated were among the Jews, the Clergy could not well pretend any more Power in this matter, than the rest of the Church. But this was no way agreeable to their Ambition, which could only be satisfy'd with Absolute Power; and therefore they made it their business to persuade the People, that receiving the Lord's Supper was necessary to Salvation, and that only They had a Right to give it, being appointed by God the sole Judges, who shou'd and who shou'd not communicate; which was no less than claiming a Power of putting whom they pleas'd in a state of Damnation. And the more to incline People to think so, they pretended a Right not only to exclude 'em from the Sacraments, but from all Church-Dutys; which they declar'd was turning Men out of the Church of Christ, the ordinary way of Salvation. But not content with this, which one wou'd think shou'd satisfy the most ambitious (since it was claiming a Divine Power, and setting themselves in the place of God) they declar'd those they excommunicated ought to be shun'd and avoided by every one; because they ought not to converse with those the Divine Goodness does abhor, but shut 'em out of their Company, against whom they had shut Heaven's Gates: which was assuming to themselves a Power of making People most,

misera-



miserable here, as well as hereafter; either of which is sufficient to enslave the World, but both are intolerable. Yet the Clergy did not scruple to keep Men under this Bondage for five or ten Years, and sometimes for their whole Life; nor did they always absolve 'em at the time of their Death, tho they affirm'd nothing less than Damnation was the Portion of those who dy'd excommunicated, to whom for that reason they wou'd not allow Christian Burial.

13. This was all they cou'd pretend to; before the Empire turn'd Christian; but then they oblig'd the Magistrate to deny 'em Justice, and to put 'em out of his Protection: nor were the Clergy content with this, but in exprefs Terms they declar'd, that he who remain'd \* excommunicated a Year was an Heretick, who had no Right to Truth, Property, Liberty or Life; and therefore among Protestants as well as Papists, Hereticks were every where, till of late, put to death. And at this very day an excommunicated Person is out of the Protection of the Law; so that Men are under no legal Obligation of keeping Faith with him.

14. The excluding all those the Clergy dislik'd from the Publick Worship, was a Doctrine, which had not so easily gone down with the People, had they not before their Conversion been made familiar to such Practices by the Heathen Priests; who us'd to drive out of their Temples all who were not initiated, as profane Persons,

\* Decret.  
de Hæret.  
cap. 13.  
Si quis.

sons, when they celebrated their impious and abominable Mysterys: And another Set of Priests, that they might have the better Pretence to exclude People from the Lord's Supper, not only represented (as appears by their Letters to one another) that most plain and simple Institution as a most *Horrible*, most *Dreadful*, and *Unutterable Mystery*, but made it a Crime of the first Magnitude to entrust the Secret, not only with the Heathen, but with Christians of the lowest Form, the *Catechumens*. And as the Uninitiated among the Heathens were bid to turn out of the Temple of the God, whose Mysterys were to be celebrated; so the others were commanded by the Deacons to quit the Church, when the Mystery (or Mass of the Faithful, as it was usually call'd) was to be said. By which they reflected the greatest Dishonour imaginable on the Christian Religion, as if it wou'd not bear the Test; and therefore a principal part of it was not so much as to be mention'd, except to those who were engag'd in a manner past retreat. And tho this ridiculous Reservedness gave occasion to those vile Storys the Heathen rais'd of what was practis'd at their private Meetings; yet it cou'd not hinder the Clergy from acting like the Priests of *Ceres* or *Bacchus*, since by it they got the same Power of excluding from their Mysterys those whom they declar'd to be unworthy. And therefore *Tertullian*, when the Secrecy of the Mysterys of the Christians was objected to them, endeavours to justify

Apol. p. 7. tify it, in saying, \* 'Tis the very Nature of Mysterys to be conceal'd, as Ceres's were in Samoshracia. How differently from this do the great Pretenders to Primitive Practice act, when upon all occasions they publickly carry the Host in Procession?

15. None among the Jews were excluded from the Passover, Temple, or Synagogue, for any Moral Uncleanness: and Mr. Selden in his *Synedriis* has by many Arguments as well as Authoritys, prov'd that the Christian Priests borrow'd this Custom from the Heathens; and it was very well worth their while, since they saw what Advantage their Clergy made of it, particularly the *Druids*, who by excluding from the Sacrifices whom they pleas'd, got all Power into their hands.

16. The Account which *Cesar* gives of the *Druids*, shows that they have been pretty well copy'd.

“(1.) (a) The *Druids*, says he, manage Divine Matters, give Orders concerning publick and private Sacrifices; and are Interpreters of Religion.

“(2.) They determine all Controversys both publick and private.

“(3.) If any private Man, or State, do  
“ not

(a) *De Bello Gall. lib. 6.*

1. Illi rebus divinis interfunt, sacrificia publica & privata procurant, Religiones interpretantur.

2. De omnibus Controversiis publicis privatisque constituant.

3. Si quis privatus, aut populus, eorum decretis non stetit, Sacrificiis interdicunt; hæc poena apud eos gravissima.

4. Quibus



“ not submit to their Decrees, they put  
 “ ’em under a religious Interdict; and  
 “ this they account the greatest of Punish-  
 “ ments.

“ (4.) Such as are thus interdicted; are  
 “ reckon’d in the number of wicked and  
 “ impious Men; none will speak to ’em or  
 “ meet ’em, but all fly from ’em as infec-  
 “ tious.

“ (5.) Neither have they Justice when  
 “ they require it; nor any Respect or Ho-  
 “ nour which is due to ’em.

“ (6.) The *Druids* are exempt from  
 “ War, and free from Taxes.

17. The Custom of sacrificing Men a-  
 mong the Heathens was owing to their  
 Priests, especially the *Druids* (it prevail-  
 ing wherever they did) who by the Power  
 they had of appointing the human Offer-  
 ings, kept every one in a most miserable  
 dread of ’em. And the sacrificing of  
 Christians upon account of their religious  
 Tenets (for which Millions have suffer’d)  
 was introduc’d for no other reason than that  
 the Clergy, who took upon ’em to be the  
 sole Judges of Religion, might, without  
 controul, impose what selfish Doctrines they  
 pleas’d.

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4. Quibus ita est interdictum, ii numero impiorum  
 & sceleratorum habentur; ab his omnes decedunt, adi-  
 um eorum Sermonemq; defugiunt, ne quid ex conta-  
 gione incommodi accipiant.

5. Neq; iis petentibus jus redditur, neq; honos ullus  
 communicatur.

8. Druides a bello abesse consueverant, neq; tributa  
 cum reliquis pendunt.

18. The most material Difference between these Christian and those Heathen *Druids*, is, that one sacrific'd Men to the Deity, but t'other to the Devil; and by burning 'em alive, make 'em as far as they can tast of Hell, before they send 'em thither: of which to persuade the Spectators, they dress 'em up in a *San-benito*, or a Coat all painted with Devils and Flames; and they take their leave of each Sufferer with this most charitable Expression, *Jam animam tuam tradimus Diabolo*. And their Truth and Mercy equal their Charity: for when they deliver over the condemn'd Persons to the Secular Powers, tho they do it with no other intent than to have them put to the most cruel Death; yet they most earnestly conjure 'em by the *Mercys of God*, and the *Bowels of Jesus Christ*, to touch neither Life nor Limb: Which gross *Dissimulation*, says a most worthy Prelate (b), *we are put in mind of by the Preamble to a late Bill*. But to return:

19. The Priests, after they had prevail'd on the People to let 'em debar from the Publick Worship whom they thought fit, told several Storys of the Excluded being possess'd with the Devil; as *Stilicon's* Scribe upon *Ambrose's* excommunicating him: And the Eastern Clergy at present, to make the simple Laity stand more in awe of

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(b) *Bishop of Sarum's Speech on the Bill against Occasional Conformity.*

their Excommunication, persuade 'em that Chap. 3. the Bodys of those who die under this Censure, do not consume, but remain black and swoln, till they are taken up and absolv'd. Several Instances you have of this in *Malaxus* and *Crucius's Turco-Grecia*, and a great many more in *Selden* \*, who says, \*L.1.c.10. the Clergy mention it in their Instruments de Syned. of Excommunication; and relates a Communion of *Cyrl Patriarch of Alexandria*, in which are these words, (c) *The Excommunicated remain after death bound and undissolv'd both here and hereafter, and stretch'd like a Drum*. By virtue of these and such like Pretences, the Bishops did more tyrannize over these poor Christians than the *Turks* themselves.

20. I cannot here avoid observing the great Difference between the *Greek* and *Latin* Churches as to this matter; for one makes the Body of an inter'd Person remaining a considerable time intire, a Mark of his being a Saint, and the other of his being a Devil.

21. Nothing wou'd expose Priestcraft more, than an Historical Account, how, and upon what Motives the Clergy vary'd in their Notions and Practices concerning the Lord's Supper: As first, how they made it a Mystery in the Heathenish sense of that word, and for Heathenish Reasons, that they might have the same Power as the Priests of Idols had, to exclude whom they

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(c) Και μετα τ' θανάτου αὐτοὶ ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι καὶ τυμπανικοί.



were pleas'd to term Unworthy. Which Power, when they had by this means sufficiently settled, nothing less wou'd serve 'em, in order to magnify their Consecration, than that it produc'd the Real Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ (tho the *Modus* of it they did not presume to determine till afterward) and made it a Real Sacrifice, and the Ministers Real Priests, and the Communion-Table an Altar; which placing in the East, they made profound Bows and Cringes towards it. So that the Heathen cou'd no longer say, as they did at first, that the Christians had no Priests, no Altars, no Sacrifice; for nothing then did more frequently occur in the Writings of the Fathers than those Terms; and they made not only the Sacrament, but almost every thing else relating to Religion, a Sacrifice, and themselves to be sure the only Sacrificers. And the better to carry on their Designs, they enter'd into a Confederacy among themselves, not to suffer any who was excommunicated by one Bishop, to be receiv'd into Communion by the rest: So that they were resolv'd, right or wrong, to justify one another's Proceedings; and no Person, unless he had a Certificate from the Bishop of his own Church, whatever occasion he had to remove, was to be admitted to communicate with any other; nay, if one's own \* Bishop was for excluding a Person for ever from the Church, others, tho this Practice was contrary to their Sentiments, oblig'd themselves never to admit him to

Com-

Dodw.  
Schif.  
18. P.  
5.

Communion. So if a Bishop did believe Chap. 3.  
the Baptism of Hereticks to be null and  
void, as *Cyprian* and the other *African* Bi-  
shops did, yet he was to admit one so bap-  
tiz'd to Communion; but on the contrary  
he was not to admit him, if his own Bishop  
did not think his Baptism valid, tho himself  
did. And,

22. After they had thus agreed among  
themselves, they declar'd, in order to  
make People stand the more in awe of their  
Excommunication, that the receiving of  
the Body and Blood of Christ was abso-  
lutely necessary to the Salvation of all, In-  
fants (whose Throats they thrust it down)  
not excepted; and this Practice continu'd  
in the Church \* for above six hundred years. \* Maldon.  
And then nothing less wou'd satisfy 'em in Joh. 6.  
than making the Great God, who made all  
things; and as he made the World by his  
*Word*, so they wou'd Him by *Theirs*. And  
to magnify the Sacredness of the Priests,  
all others were excluded from the Privilege  
of the Cup, and only adult Persons to eat  
the Bread, yet not till they had ador'd it  
as the most High God. And what cou'd  
the most extravagantly Ambitious desire  
more, than to have Mankind prostrate at  
their Feet, begging Absolution; and their  
God in their hands, distributing him as they  
pleas'd? And if they cou'd make him, 'tis  
not to be question'd but they had an absolute  
Power of disposing of their own Creature-  
God.

Here one's at a stand which to ad-  
mire most, the mad Insolence and daring

Impiety of the Clergy, or the gross Stupidity and wretched Abjectness of the Laity; one in thus imposing, and t'other in being thus impos'd on.

23. At the Reformation we were so far from countenancing these Notions, that by the Articles of *Edward the Sixth* the *Real Presence* is expressly condemn'd, and by this invincible Argument, the Impossibility of two Bodys being in the same place, But in a short time after, that Paragraph \* was left out by the Convocation, on pretence of not giving Offence to the Adorers of a Corporeal Presence; and another put in its room, so worded, that the Papists shou'd not scruple it. Which piece of extraordinary Complaisance had no other effect than to make the Papists more obstinate, and possibly was no small occasion that a Man cou'd scarce be thought a true genuine Son of the Church, without believing the Real Presence; and by degrees, Priest, Sacrifice, Altar, &c. were again reviv'd,

24. To conclude; Tho the Priests assume to themselves an Arbitrary Power of excluding Men from the Lord's Supper; yet the Scriptures no where make the receiving it from the Hands of a Priest, necessary: nay, not one Instance of the Laity's receiving it so can be produc'd from thence. The Passover and other Festivals among the Jews were never celebrated in the Temple or Synagogues, but in their private Houses, whi-



whither, as (a) *Grotius* observes, they invited their Kindred, Friends and Neighbors, to the number of above ten, but under twenty; which *Josephus* calls a *Fraternity*; and at the close of the Supper, the great Meal with them, the Master of the Feast distributed among his Guests small Pieces of the finest Bread; and having first drank of the Grace-Cup, deliver'd it to be handed about. All this was accompany'd with Thanks to God for having created Bread and Wine, which was follow'd by some Relation suitable to the Festival, and the Eucharist or Hymn of Thanksgiving; to which Christ, who instituted no new Rites, superadded the Remembrance of his Sufferings, and directs his Disciples as often as they did this, that is, celebrate such Festivals, and close them with the *Postcænium*, to commemorate him after this manner. And this same Author shows, from the Institutions of *Clemens*, from *Justin*, *Irenæus* and *Origen*, that the ancient Christians began their Eucharist with Praises to God for Creation of the World, particularly of Bread and Wine; and then proceeded to commemorate our Saviour's Death. And tho' among the Gentiles, where the Rich according to ancient Custom entertain'd the Poor, there were, by reason of their Numbers, great Disorders in their Love-Fests, where

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(a) In his Discourse, *An sit semper communicandum per Symbola.*

after the same manner they remember'd our Saviour's Suffering; yet the Apostle nowhere declares, that for prevention of the like, none for the future shou'd presume to take any Bread and Wine, except from the Hand of a Priest; but only that every one shou'd examine himself, which is not only overlooking the Priest's pretended Power, but is wholly inconsistent with it. And if *St. Paul*, notwithstanding these Excesses, deny'd none this Liberty, nor have we an Instance of any Person, no not *Judas* himself, excluded from it; what Pretence can there be for the Clergy to be Sovereign Judges who shou'd be admitted, and who not? which at first they cou'd not, except they were necessarily to be invited to all those Meals, in the Close of which our Saviour's Death was to be commemorated, and had likewise a Power to forbid the Guests they did not like. And if this Sacrament, as the Name of the Lord's Supper shews, was first celebrated at Meal-time, either the People who sat or lay down at Supper, must hand the Bread and Wine to one another; or else some must wait at Table for this purpose, an Office the Clergy wou'd not be so fond of, as of the present Custom of the whole Congregation's attending the Priest at the Rails of the Altar, and there kneeling at his Feet, humbly to wait till he distributes to them the Bread and Wine from within the Rails, a Place it seems too too Holy for the profane and vile Laity to be admitted into; and therefore the Priest, clad in his pompous Formalitys, is to stand there  
alone,

alone. \* *Tertullian*, not only owns the receiving the Eucharist from the hands of the Bishop in the Assemblys which met before break of day, to be an Innovation, but also says, that by our Lord it was committed to All, and at Meal-times; and consequently the whole Discipline that's built on it must be an Innovation. And if the Priests have so grossly impos'd on the Christian World in this matter, there can be no reason to depend on their Authority, or to take any thing to appertain to 'em, tho' it has ever so long or universally obtain'd, except they can show a sufficient Proof from Scripture for it. And considering this, it can't be thought strange that that excellent Man who first sow'd the Seeds of the Protestant Religion here, the \* famous *Wickliff*, shou'd maintain that the chief Comfort of the Faithful is, that Excommunication and Suspension, and such-like Censures, are not founded in the Law of Christ, but cunningly invented by Antichrist.

Chap. 3.  
\* De Cor.  
Millic.

\* Fascicul.  
Rerum  
Expend.  
fol. 136.  
art. 17.

25. The Protestant Cantons carry'd the Reformation the furthest of any in this Point, and wou'd not allow that excluding Men from the Sacrament was any part of Ecclesiastical Discipline, or that the Priests had any Authority in it: in defence of which the Great *Erastus* wrote his excellent Treatise printed here, and licens'd, as Mr. *Selden* \* has made evident, by Archbishop *Whitgift*'s own Hand. Nor do we or any other Protestant Nation allow the Clergy an Independent Power in this matter; which is a sufficient Proof that they do

\* De Syno.  
l. 1. c. 10



do not believe it belongs to them by Divine Right.

26. 'Tis usually said, That *People can't take the Sacrament without a Priest, because he only can consecrate the Elements.*

Among Christians, one no more than another can be reckon'd a Priest from Scripture, because the only Sacrifices of our Religion are *Prayers, Praises and Thanksgivings*; which every one of the Congregation offers up for himself: and there's no more reason to affirm that the Minister offers up the Peoples Prayers, than they his; unless it can be suppos'd that God hears him only who talks the loudest, in that he's the Servant of the Congregation, being imploy'd by 'em to speak with an audible Voice, that all may join together in offering up the same Prayers. And the Clerk has as good a Title to the Priesthood as the Parson; since the People join with him in offering up their Sacrifices of Spiritual Songs, Hymns, and Thanksgivings. To make this pertinent to the present purpose; Does not every one as well as the Minister equally apply the Bread and Wine to the same Holy and Spiritual Use, in commemorating the Benefits receiv'd by our Saviour, and in offering up the same Prayers, and desiring the same Blessings? And whoever does this with a due Application of Mind, rightly consecrates the Elements for himself, since this is the only Consecration they are capable of: Any thing further than this may rather be call'd *Conjuration* than *Consecration*.

But

But designing to treat of all this Mat-Chap. 3.  
 ter more fully hereafter, I shall now only  
 add, that a Pretence to a Priesthood, or  
 Sacrificing, not in common to all Christians,  
 is no small piece of Priestcraft; to prevent  
 which, the New Testament, when it applies  
*Priest* or *Sacrificer* to Christians, which is  
 not above twice, applies it to 'em in gene- 1 Pet. 2. 5.  
 ral, as being all alike concern'd in offering Rev. 5. 10.  
 up the Sacrifices of the Christian Religion.  
 And yet what absurd and senseless Notions  
 do not only the Popish, but other High-  
 Churchmen maintain about this plain and  
 simple Institution, in order to make them-  
 selves Priests in a peculiar and real manner?

As I have shown how little reason there  
 is for the Clergy to pretend an Indepen-  
 dent Right to exclude from the Church  
 and all publick Worship whom they please;  
 so I must now observe how they claim, as  
 peculiar to themselves, and as a part of their  
 Divine Jurisdiction, the reprovng or rebuk-  
 ing of People. But,

27. Nothing can be weaker, than pre-  
 tending that this is peculiar to themselves,  
 or a part of Jurisdiction: since 'tis in com-  
 mon to those who have no Jurisdiction, as  
 well as those who have; and not only E-  
 quals, but Inferiors observing the Rules of  
 Decency, have a right, nay are bound, as  
 they have opportunity, to reprove their  
 Superiors: for instance, I, tho with all  
 Humility, rebuke the Clergy for thus  
 grossly imposing on the Laity; and this I  
 am bound to do, according to the Divine  
 Precept, which says, *Thou shalt in any wise*  
*rebuke*

*rebuke thy Brother, and not suffer Sin upon him; and yet I pretend no Jurisdiction over them, but to set this matter in a due light.*

28. Men, tho they resign'd to the Publick the disposing of their Force, yet still retain a Power of approving or disapproving the Actions of those they live amongst; and consequently the Clergy, if they cannot punish or reward Men for those Actions they commend or condemn, by some Good or Evil which is not the Consequence of the Actions themselves, which operate whether they will or no, can pretend to no more Power than what belongs in common to the rest of the People, whose Opinions must have a great Influence on mens Actions: except it can be imagin'd that being Esteem'd, Honour'd, Admir'd, Lov'd, Courted and Caress'd; or being Slighted, Disgrac'd, Despis'd, Hated and Abhor'd, are not strong Motives to a Man to accommodate himself to the Sentiments of those he converses with. There's not one in ten thousand able to bear the constant Dislike and Condemnation of his own Society, nor can live in perpetual Disrepute and Disgrace with those he converses with; much less can he indure the Thoughts of being so abhor'd by every one, as that they shall conspire to shun all Conversation with him.

29. Of this the Clergy are sensible, and therefore pretend they have a Divine Right to command the Opinion and Affections of the People, by obliging all to hold  
those



those they excommunicate, or declare to be guilty of Schism or Heresy, in so great a detestation, as to avoid conversing with 'em. And when Men are once persuaded, that the Clergy are Judges in Religious Matters, and that God so much abhors those they pronounce Heterodox, as to damn them eternally; and that he loves others as much for holding what they declare to be Orthodox; there needs not much persuading 'em that 'tis their duty to imitate God in loving those he loves, and hating those he hates. And if those the Clergy turn out of the Church, are to be shun'd by every body, on the Penalty of being condemn'd to suffer the same, there can be no reason why those who by Schism or Heresy turn themselves out of the Church, shou'd be us'd after a better manner. And the Clergy need not take much pains to persuade Men to use those ill in this Life, whom God will eternally damn in the next. No pity for such Persons can hinder 'em from thinking any Method too severe for preventing the Propagation of damnable Doctrines. This, Charity to the Souls of Mankind in general, were not their Children, Friends, and Relations concern'd, wou'd oblige 'em to do: and as they cannot suppose the Clergy can have too great a Power to inquire into suspected Persons, so they likewise will be for putting all the Hardships imaginable on excommunicated Persons, in order to force 'em to submit to the Terms the Clergy require for their Admission into the Church.

Church. And when such Notions as these once prevail, it will not be safe for the Magistrate to protect those the Clergy have thus represented to the People. But did not this Method necessarily destroy all manner of Kindness and Friendship, and introduce immortal Hatred for unavoidable Differences in Opinion; yet things being good or evil on account of their Effects, that which produces the same Consequences as Hatred does, is every whit as bad: and I suppose 'tis all one to the poor People who are burnt by the Inquisitors, what Principles they are acted by; and every one sees that these Notions naturally end in an Inquisition.

30. Nothing can tend more to the discouragement of all Virtue and Morality, and the utter confounding of all those Dutys which Men owe one another, than this pretended Power of the Priest: for if I must look on a Man, tho ever so moral, or tho I were ever so much oblig'd by him, or stand in the nearest relation to him, as one abhor'd by God on the account of his Opinions, and to be shun'd as some noxious Animal; how can I treat him with that Kindness, which is due to his Virtue, or as Gratitude, or the Relation I have to him requires of me? Nay, so destructive is this Notion of Morality, that the more moral a Man is, the worse he is to be us'd, because the greater is the Danger of his making his Heterodoxy to spread and obtain. So the same Reason will oblige People to treat an  
immoral

Immoral Orthodox Man with all the Kindness imaginable; nay, the worse he is, the better he is to be us'd, if a different Treatment brings the least prejudice to Orthodoxy. But the reason of Mens mutual Esteem or Disesteem, Kindness or Unkindness, is built on a quite different Foundation than Orthodoxy or Heterodoxy. For,

31. Man being a Creature not able to subsist without the Assistance of others; whoever expects they wou'd not put the least Inconvenience on him, or love or esteem him the less for the sake of his Opinions, ought to use those who differ from him after the same manner; and consequently all Good and Moral Men, whether Schismatics, Hereticks, Turks, Jews or Gentiles, have a Right to be treated by the Orthodox as they expect to be treated by them, or in other words, as the mutual Good of Mankind obliges 'em to treat all moral and virtuous Persons, without regard to Orthodoxy, which every Sect confine to themselves. On the contrary, they who live not up to the common Rules of Humanity, but indulge their brutal Passions to the prejudice of their own Kind, have no right, notwithstanding they are Orthodox, wonderfully Orthodox, to the Esteem or Friendship of rational Beings; but may be shun'd and avoided by them as pernicious Creatures of an inferiour Rank, with whom their renouncing the common Law of Reason has level'd them.



32. There's no Man who lives in a Country where the Religion is different from his own, who sees not the absolute Necessity of this Conduct, and curses the Bigotry of the People for being so influenc'd by their Priests, as to make him suffer in his Person, Goods or Reputation, for the sake of such Opinions as they receive no Prejudice by: And he will be apt to consider, that tho God had implanted in our Natures a Sense of Pity, and a Desire of being belov'd, in order to oblige Mankind to treat one another kindly; and has not only made it their mutual Interest, but oblig'd 'em to it by the Ties of future Rewards and Punishments; yet the Priests have perverted all this, and made Religion the great Incentive for Men to use one another ill, without regard to Interest, Reputation or Pity. Which last is represented as a Suggestion of the Devil in favour of Heterodoxy: and the crueller Men are on this account, the greater Reputation they get. Thus he perceives that Religion is render'd much worse than Atheism it self; for as that affords Men no Motives from another World to use one another ill, so it takes away none they have from this to use one another well, or any way hinders 'em from giving that Esteem and Reputation to Virtuous and Moral Men, which the most immoral, in regard to their own Interest, are ready to pay them. Tho Men reason thus, when themselves are ill treated on the score of Religion; yet alas, how few can make the same Reflection  
when

when the Tables are turn'd? Men then, so much are they impos'd on by their own Priests, commit the very same Crimes they abhor'd in others, and on the same Pretences; since the Honour of God and the Good of Mens Souls are alike pleaded by all Partys, and alike serve as a Pretext for doing all the Mischief the most Diabolical Malice can produce.

33. A Commission from God, authorizing a Priest to punish People by Ecclesiastical Censures, for things in which a third Person has no Interest, and which only relate to God and a Man's own Conscience, necessarily supposes Qualifications sufficient for the executing of it; and consequently that his Censures have a power to change the Mind, otherwise 'tis punishing to no purpose, or worse than none, the making Hypocrites, and that he is infallible, else the Change may be for the worse; nay, that he is Omniscient, and can judg of Mens Hearts, otherwise he may punish a Man for that which is no Offence before God: because to make any thing except Insincerity a Sin, is to make God himself the Author of Sin, in so framing our Understanding, that after we have done all we can to avoid it, we necessarily fall into it: But had any Priests such Qualifications, That alone wou'd not prove they were to represent God, and punish in his stead, unless God had given 'em such a Commission, which cou'd not appear if their Names were not writ in it, or their Persons so describ'd as every one might find

'em out; since what is in common with others, who equally pretend to this Commission, cou'd never do it. Without this Power, whatever Priest takes upon him to punish Men for worshipping God according to Conscience, not only deposes God, as far as he is able, from his Empire over Conscience, but makes the not affronting him by a gross Dissimulation, a Crime, for which a Man is not only to be depriv'd of the Conversation of his Fellow-Creatures, but to be eternally damn'd. A Sin greater than that of *Lucifer*, who fell not for claiming a Superiority over, but only an Equality with his Maker. But here the Priest disputes the Dominion with the Almighty: for God commands Men, on pain of eternal Punishment, to follow the Dictates of their Consciences; but the Priest, without any regard to this, pretends to a Power, not only of making Men miserable in this Life, but of damning 'em eternally; if they thus prefer obeying God before what he requires of 'em. But,

34. If Sincerity be our Duty, Insincerity must be a Crime; and consequently being in the right, if occasion'd by a blind Submission to the Priest, or any other Accident, will not make amends for the neglect of the grand Duty of Consideration, with which Ecclesiastical Censures are as inconsistent as any other persecuting Method; and can only tend to create new, and establish old Prejudices, since Gentleness and Kindness are the only way to remove



remove 'em: for whatever is propos'd with Heat, makes Arguments, as every one may find by himself, lose somewhat of their Efficacy; and therefore whoever wou'd persuade, uses all the kind, all the obliging, all the insinuating Methods to dispose People for the more favourable reception of his Arguments. And St. Paul, tho nothing cou'd more effectually remove Prejudices than his power of doing Miracles, yet not content with that, *became all things to all Men, that he might gain some.* And if the Clergy, who cannot pretend to a power of working Miracles, instead of observing the same method, are for endeavouring to make those who differ from 'em fall under the Contempt, Disgrace and Hatred of the People, and threaten 'em with no less than Damnation; 'tis a presumption, they do not design to convince, but to fright Men into a compliance with some villanous Doctrine, which they are sensible will not bear the Test of Examination.

35. 'Tis an amazing thing to consider, that tho Christ and his Apostles inculcated nothing so much as Universal Charity, and enjoin'd their Disciples to treat, not only one another notwithstanding their Differences, but even Jews and Gentiles with all the kindness imaginable, yet that their pretended Successors should make it their business to teach such Doctrines as destroy all Love and Friendship among People of different Persuasions; and that with so good Success, that never did Mortals hate,

abhor and damn one another more heartily, or are readier to do one another more Mischief, than the different Sects of Christians. Human Nature, God be thank'd, if left to it self, wou'd not be so deprav'd: for then Men wou'd as kindly receive Arguments offer'd to their Consideration in Religious as in Philosophical matters; and love and esteem People for setting 'em so good a Precedent as worshipping God according to Conscience, Opinions, which each Side may hold without the least prejudice to the other, are not in their own nature apter to create Unkindness, than different Features and Tasts: And of this we may be convinc'd by the Conduct of the World, even when it lay for so many Ages together, as the greatest part at present does, under Heathen Darknes; for there were no such Feuds and Animositys on this account among them, tho their Differences were more and greater. Which shows, that the best Religion has had the misfortune to have the worst Priests; and if the Heathen World was, as Divines tell us, under the Power of Satan, I shou'd be glad to see how they avoid this Consequence of Nature's not being so much perverted then, as since under the Government of certain Priests, who are no better than spiritual Make-baits, Barters, Beatefests and Incendiarys, and who make Churches serve to worse purposes than Bear-gardens, where Beasts are only the Combatants; but here Christians are halloo'd on to worry and devour one another, and

and all in defiance of the Scriptures, which Chap. 3.  
 teach the forgiving even of the greatest Injuries, while they require People to treat those who have not done 'em the least Injury, after the most barbarous manner.

36. If in the time of that wise Heathen *Ammianus Marcellinus*, the Christians bore such Hatred to one another, that, as he complains, (a) *No Beasts were such deadly Enemys to Men, as the more savage Christians were generally to one another*: What wou'd he, if now alive, say of them, when in the Popish Countrys he beheld their Princes and Nobles proud of serving the Inquisition in the vilest Offices, as carrying the holy Faggots for burning of Hereticks; and the Commonalty, without the least sense of Pity, testifying their Joy with the loudest Acclamations at the insupportable Agonys of those tormented Wretches! Nor wou'd he think this the Spirit of Popery only, when he perceiv'd Protestants, tho' allowing private Judgment, nay tho' building their Separation from Rome upon it, zealous for burning Hereticks, and treating one another with the utmost Inhumanity for mere Trifles, things own'd by the Persecutors themselves to be indifferent. But most of all wou'd he be surpriz'd at the late Conduct of some, and those none of the meanest among our selves, *The fatal Effects of whose unreasonable Humour and*

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(a) *Nullas infestas hominibus bestias ut sint sibi feriles plerique Christianorum, Lib. 22.*



*Animosity we have, as we are told from the Throne, so narrowly escap'd.*

37. In a word, these Mischiefs are unavoidable, as long as any besides Moral Causes are allow'd to be subject to the judicial Cognizance of Human Powers, or as long as the Clergy, by Excommunication or otherwise, can oblige the Magistrate or any of his Subjects to treat those who differ from 'em, in what relates only to God and their own Consciences, with the least Unkindness or Partiality. And tho only an inspir'd Writer cou'd expresse how happy, upon the removal of these cursed Effects of Priestcraft, the reviv'd Spirit of Christianity wou'd render its numerous Votarys; yet every one, who knows any thing of that great Love, Benevolence, Gentleness, Meekness, Moderation, and all such like Vertues, which our Religion so pathetically recommends, must needs perceive that their Happiness wou'd be as compleat as Human Nature, exalted to the highest Pitch of Perfection, was capable of; and so much the greater, as it freed 'em from that extreme Misery, to which Priestcraft in most places had so long subjected 'em.

38. As in this Chapter I have prov'd that the Pretences on which the Clergy wou'd build their Independent Power, are so far from having any Foundation in Religion or Reason, that they are Absurd and Impious; I shall in the following part of my Discourse show that this Doctrine is so far from serving the ends of Religion, that,

(1.) It

(1.) It not only prevents the further Chap. 3:  
spreading of the Gospel, but is the Cause of  
its having already lost so much ground.

(2.) That it is most destructive to the  
Interest of Religion, and is the Cause of  
those Corruptions under which Christianity  
labours.

(3.) That it necessarily hinders all Reformation, except where those Persons who are  
suppos'd to have this Independent Power do  
consent.

(4.) That it has been the occasion of infinite  
Mischiefs to the Christian World, and  
has, wherever it prevail'd, render'd the  
Community most miserable. And besides  
this, I shall prove,

1<sup>st</sup>. That 'tis inconsistent with the Design  
and End of Ecclesiastical Government,  
that there should be any particular Immuta-  
ble Form of it, or that any Set of Persons  
should have an Unalterable Right to it; but  
that every Community is oblig'd, according  
to the Circumstances they are under, to alter  
and vary all things relating to it, as they  
judg most conducing to the End for which  
that was instituted.

2<sup>dly</sup>. That this Hypothesis, of none being  
capable of governing the Church except  
Bishops (and the Reason equally holds as to  
Presbyters) and that none can be Bishops  
except such as derive their Power by a  
continu'd uninterrupted Succession from the  
Apostles, destroys the very Being not on-  
ly of all Protestant, but of all Churches  
whatsoever.

## C H A P. IV.

That 'tis inconsistent with the Reason,  
 Design and End of Ecclesiastical  
 Discipline, that there shou'd be any  
 particular Immutable Form of it,  
 or any Set of Persons with an Un-  
 alterable Right to manage it; but  
 that Men are obliged, according to  
 the Circumstances they are under, to  
 alter and vary all things relating to  
 it, as they judg most conducing to  
 the End for which That was insti-  
 tuted.

**A**LL things relating to Religion are  
 either *Means* or *Ends*; the Last,  
 as carrying real Worth with 'em, are to  
 be embrac'd on their own account: but  
 the First, as having no such Excellency,  
 are obligatory for the sake of the last only,  
 and consequently are to be continu'd or  
 chang'd, as serves best to promote those Ends  
 for which they were instituted.

2. The Ends for the sake of which all  
 Means are ordain'd, are only two (in effect  
 the same) the *Honour of God*, and the  
*Good*



*Good of Mankind*; but the Means to These are as many and various, as the Circumstances Men are under; and therefore all Ecclesiastical Discipline, that is, all Things relating to the Government and Policy of the Church, which all own to be Means only, ought not to be continually the same, but to undergo from time to time such Alterations as are best suited to the Ends it was instituted for. And it must needs frequently happen, especially in a Religion design'd to last to the End, as well as to reach to the utmost Bounds of the World, that no particular Form of Ecclesiastical Discipline can be so proper at all times and places as some other: and then not to alter that which is less conducive, nay perhaps prejudicial, is to make Ends give place to Means; and consequently the only way to prove this or that Form of Ecclesiastical Discipline, in this or that Place, to be *Divine*, is to shew that 'tis there the fittest for the End it was design'd to promote. For when any Circumstances happen, which cause Means to lose the Fitness they had before, God by causing those Alterations does as much take off their Obligation, as if he had expressly declar'd it; since Acts do as fully express the Mind as Words. And if God himself did not command whatsoever those Circumstances, he has plac'd us in, require, it wou'd be impossible to prove there was any such Law as that of Nature: since that consists in nothing else than acting according to those Circumstances Men are in, with relation to God

God and one another; and consequently, to be unalterably ty'd up to any particular form of Ecclesiastical Discipline, is inconsistent with the Law of Nature, and the infinite Wisdom of God, which requir'd Means most adapted to the Ends they are design'd to promote.

3. The first Christians cou'd not be confin'd to any one Form of Discipline, especially when under Persecution, because that must have subjected 'em to innumerable Inconveniences. How easily cou'd the *Roman* Emperors have destroy'd the Church, if the Bishops, for instance, were only capable of governing it, by seizing 'em all at once? Or what a Confusion must it have caus'd, to have only imprison'd 'em, or the greatest part of 'em, considering they still retain'd a Right to that Power they were incapacitated from exercising? In all such Cases no Church can be safe, without being at liberty to act in Things of this nature as they see occasion.

4. The Circumstances of a few private Christians, form'd into particular Congregations, independent of one another, as at first, and those of the now National Churches, being so very different, must require a very different Polity.

The same Garment may as well serve Children and Men, as the same Regimen can fit People for all Times and Circumstances. Clothes made of Beasts-skins may now as well be pretended to be of Divine Obligation, because God himself so cloth'd our first Parents, as any particular Discipline

pline be now binding, because Religion was at first cloth'd with it. Chap. 4.

5. God, tho he wou'd have Gospel-Churches in all Countrys, yet does not design they should in the least be prejudicial to the Civil Polity; which wou'd be unavoidable, if upon supposition of a National Church, the Form of its Government was not to be fitted and accommodated to the Model of the Civil Government.

6. Most Nations, as Experience shows, do prefer one sort of Ecclesiastical Government before another; and therefore to force 'em to live under any other, perhaps one they are prejudic'd against, must be contrary to their Spiritual as well as Temporal Interest, especially when it has before been turn'd to the prejudice of Religion, and to advance the immoderate Power of the Clergy.

Therefore 'twas in several places prudently done of the Reformers, knowing how the People were set against Bishops by reason of their Tyranny, to alter the Form of Church-Government; Had they not done this, they wou'd have given occasion to the People to think they only found fault with their Bishops, to get into their Places.

7. We find that the Christians at first comply'd with the Model which obtain'd among the Jews, in order to bring them over to Christianity; and Churches were form'd, as they who have examin'd this matter acknowledg, after the manner of the



the Synagogues, with no other difference, than that one Party believ'd the Messias already come, and the other expected his Coming.

8. Nay, for a long time the Disciples, as their Master did all his Life, frequented the *Jewish* Synagogues, which they cou'd not do without submitting to their Government: but then despairing of the Jews, the Alterations afterward made in Matters of Discipline, were design'd to bring the Heathens into the Church; and so were accommodated as much as cou'd be to their Customs, and the Model of their Civil Polity; which some Men, who frankly own this, wou'd yet obtrude on us as of an Eternal Obligation. And ought not all others to act after the same manner, and not prejudice any Nation against the Christian Religion, by endeavoring to obtrude on them a Church-Government to which they are averse? Nor can that among Christians, which is forc'd on People, do so much good, as one they have a Kindness for.

9. If People cannot determine, who shall exercise all Ecclesiastical Offices, but this by a Divine Right belongs solely to a particular Set of Men, and whom they adopt into their Body; 'twould be no less than Sacrilege in others to preach the Gospel to Heathens, or to form 'em into a Church: nay, it wou'd be a Sin in Infidels to encourage such sacrilegious Attempts, by being converted and baptiz'd by 'em.

10. By this Doctrine shou'd a parcel of Chap. 4.  
Lay-Christians be cast on a Land, which  
had no Communication with any Christian  
Country; 'twou'd be unlawful for 'em not  
only to preach the Gospel to the Infidels,  
but to form themselves into a Church;  
because none among 'em has a Right pub-  
lickly to say Prayers, or administer the  
Sacraments, the very Attempt being a  
Profanation of the Holy Ordinances. Nay,  
tho they had Priests among them, if only  
Bishops can make Priests, they upon their  
death must cease to be a Church: nor cou'd  
their Children be entitl'd to any of the Ad-  
vantages of Christianity, tho they liv'd ever  
so religiously.

11. If it be granted, that in such Cases  
Laymen may exercise the Ecclesiastical  
Function, as *Fruementius* and several others,  
with the Approbation of the Catholick  
Church, have done, it proves there's no-  
thing in that Function, of which every  
Christian, provided of Abilitys, is not  
capable: since a mere Negative, the absence  
of Priests, cannot create a new Right, but  
calls People to the Exercise of a Right which  
was in them before.

12. We need not put extraordinary Cases,  
because if any Set of Ecclesiasticks (suppose  
of Bishops) are necessary to the Being of  
a Church, all that are without 'em must be  
unchurch'd.

To say, the Purest Faith, the Soundest  
Doctrine, and the most Exemplary Life,  
avail not to the health of Mens Souls  
without this or that Set of Ecclesiasticks,  
is

is as absurd, as to suppose the most wholesom Meat will not nourish the Body, because the Cook who dress'd it, was not made one with such Formalitys; but that for the sake of these, another Cook, tho he mingles Poison with the Meat, is to be prefer'd. And what else do they say, who allow the Romish Church, which in cooking up the Heavenly Food, mingles Poison of her own, to be a true Church; and yet deny a great part of the Reform'd, where the Food of Life is to be had pure and unmixt, to be a Church, because their Spiritual Cooks are not made with such or such Formalitys? But,

13. As the sole End and Design of the Ministry is the Propagation of the true Faith, and wholesom Doctrine; so where these are taught and preach'd, there must be a true Ministry, and a true Church; which the Food of Life will nourish, from what Hand soever it comes.

As every Church, all implicit Faith being forbid, must judg whether their Ministers preach agreably to the Scripture; so they must have a Right to constitute such for that End, as they judg will do so, tho no Bishop or other Ecclesiastick will lay hands on 'em; and to remove those they judg do not their Duty, tho they had Hands laid on with all the Formalitys imaginable. And therefore, tho it be customary to admit none to the Ministry, who have not the Approbation of the Clergy; yet that is only a Trust they receive from the Church, which she is bound to re-



reassume, when she finds they betray their Trust, and will only ordain Enemy's to the Truth; unless that must give place to a Thing, which cou'd be instituted for no other end than the preservation of Truth. And therefore those Priests who make the Church to depend on the Ministry, by Christianity mean only Themselves; and their own Power. But if Means must give place to Ends, and Religion and the Good of the Church be prefer'd before the Power of any Set of Ecclesiasticks, the People must have a Right to make and unmake Ministers as they judg most convenient for the End the Ministry was design'd. And if the End of the Ministry is the Good of the Church or People, that necessarily infers they have a Right to judg when they act for their good; which wou'd be to no purpose, if they had not a Power, as in all such Cases, to place or displace 'em, as they judg their own Good requires. And nothing can be more inconsistent with the Good of the Church, than to suppose their Ministers act independently; since then they have no hopes of any Redress, unless they, whose Temporal Interest chiefly consists in lording and domineering over God's Heritage, will rectify the Abuses they have introduc'd into the Church for the sake of their own Advantage. And,

14. Nothing can be more evident, than that too many of the Clergy prefer their own Temporal Interest before the Eternal Good of Mens Souls; since when the Dis-

pute is only about the Mode of Church-Government, they wou'd rather a Man shou'd continue with 'em, tho ever so wicked, than become ever so religious by leaving their Communion; and therefore are for using Awes and Bribes to bring Men, tho against their Consciences, into their own Churches.

15. The Protestant condemn the Popish Clergy for being guilty of an abominable piece of Priestcraft, in supposing the *Intention* of the Minister necessary to the Validity of the Sacraments, and consequently to Salvation; as tending to keep the Laity in a miserable Subjection, and making their Salvation depend on a thing wholly out of their Power. And has not the making the Validity of the Sacraments to depend on their being administer'd by a Set of Ecclesiasticks, deriving their Power in a Line of Succession from the Apostles, the same effect? since they are then bound to submit to their Yoke on pain of Damnation; and the Piety and Virtue of the People can no more contribute to this Succession, than to the Intention of the Priest; nor are they better Judges in one Case than t'other. Is not making a Minister's forging his Orders, the Damnation of his Parish (the necessary Consequence of this Hypothesis) altogether as absurd as the Doctrine of Intention?

16. If the Office of a Clergyman was so appropriated, that 'twas unlawful for others to meddle with it, they ought not to visit the Sick, reconcile Differences, or  
instruct

Instruct one another In those Dutys they owe to God and each other; which every one, as he has opportunity, is oblig'd to do: and that some have more convenience than others, depends on the People's allowing 'em a sufficient Maintenance wholly to attend that End. Every Christian is oblig'd to *reprove, rebuke, admonish, exhort* and *warn* one another; and nothing can be plainer, than that their neglecting to do this to a Brother, tho a Clergyman, if he walk'd disorderly, and avoiding, if he was not reclaim'd, as far as conveniently they cou'd, all Converse with him, has not a little contributed to the Immorality and Wickedness so common among 'em, especially to the Pride and Haughtiness of the Clergy, who wou'd think themselves affronted, shou'd the Laity presume to deal thus with Men of their Character. And 'tis no wonder there has been such a Neglect in this matter, since People were made to believe this belong'd to the Clergy, as part of their Spiritual Jurisdiction; to meddle with which, they were told was no less than Sacrilege.

17. In a word, every one is bound to do all he can for the saving another's Soul, and therefore most things which the Clergy are oblig'd to perform are the Duty of every Man: and tho there should be some things, which, considering the present Circumstances, cou'd not conveniently be left in common, yet that's for Order sake only, and not on the account of any peculiar Spiritual Power or Privileges



which those who are set apart for the doing 'em have from Heaven; since others in some Circumstances are bound to do the same.

18. Nay, were not all matters relating to the Polity of the Church of a mutable nature, the Office of Preaching, which the Clergy now appropriate to themselves, ought to be, as in the Apostles Time, in common, when every one had a Right to exercise it. For St. Paul supposes the Laity as much bound to speak in their Religious Assemblies, as to assemble, making one the reason for the other; for after he had said, *Let us consider one another, to provoke unto Love and Good Works*, he adds, *not forsaking the Assembling of our selves together, as the manner of some is, but exhorting one another*: And we are bid to do this, *so much the more, as we see the Day approaching*. So that now the Reason is by 1700 Years more forcible than it was then: And if the danger of being harden'd in Sin is at least as great now as it was then; is not the reason as strong for applying the Apostolick Remedy of exhorting one another daily, while it is call'd to day, lest any of you be harden'd thro the Deceitfulness of Sin? And as this Duty of Teaching and Admonishing one another, when met together, is frequently requir'd, so 'tis on the highest Motives, such as, *That the Word of Christ may dwell in you in all Wisdom, and that you may comfort and edify one another*. And tho there happen'd as great a Disorder as possible in the Church of Corinth by

Heb. 10.  
24, 25.

Heb. 3. 13.

Col. 3. 16.

1 Thess. 5.

1.

By this Liberty of all, every one of the whole Chap. 4.  
Church one by one Preaching or Prophesying; yet the Apostle is for continuing this Prac- 1 Cor. 14.  
tice, with only one Exception as to the Wo-  
men, which infers the Right of the Men;  
and therefore labours to rectify the Abuses  
(which had not crept into other Churches  
of the Saints) by bidding 'em observe  
those Rules of Order and Decency, which  
made this Liberty practicable in other As-  
semblies. And we find the whole Church of  
Jerusalem (who as they were the first Con-  
verts, so they were very numerous, since  
there were 3000 converted at one Sermon)  
all turn'd Preachers; for the Text saith,  
the Church was scatter'd abroad, and they who Acts 8. 14.  
were scatter'd, preach'd the Word; so that  
there was a whole Army of Lay-Preachers:  
and 'tis a Commendation given the Brethren,  
That many of 'em spoke the Word without Phil. 1. 14.  
fear.

19. And this Liberty did not only  
cause the Brethren, as St. Paul bids 'em, to 1 Cor. 14.  
excel to the Edifying of the Church; and to 12.  
speak, as St. Peter requires 'em, as the Ora- 1 Pet. 4. 10  
cles of God: but it made 'em vie with one  
another in Love and Good Works, and  
was a great Incentive for the Clergy to do  
their best, lest they shou'd come behind  
their Brethren, who were oblig'd in their  
Publick Assemblies to bid 'em take heed to  
their Ministry, and to fulfil it; as the Co-  
lossians were to bid Archippus, a Fellow-Col. 4. 16  
Soldier of the Apostles, to do, when they were  
met together to read his Epistle. But when 17.  
this Custom was alter'd, and the Minister Philem. 2

might broach what Doctrine he pleas'd, without any of the Brethren daring to contradict him, the People became negligent and ignorant, and the Clergy had it in their Power to impose what selfish Doctrines they pleas'd: whereas if any of 'em before had offer'd at an Innovation, he wou'd have been oppos'd by the whole Congregation; and if he wou'd not have desisted, they wou'd not only have withdrawn their voluntary Contributions, by which he subsisted, but have shun'd him as a *false Teacher, Seducer and Deceiver*; which must have preserv'd Religion in its primitive Purity, the Peoples Temporal as well as Spiritual Interest obliging 'em to be strict Guardians of it against all such as had no ways of Lording it over God's Heritage, unless by perverting it. And if notwithstanding all this, things are so alter'd, that there are now sufficient Reasons, as no Clergyman will I suppose deny, to forbid all except himself speaking in the Church; how can he pretend there's any thing relating to Ecclesiastical Discipline immutably fixt, since there's nothing more positively requir'd, and upon stranger Motives, than this Duty of Teaching in Religious Assemblys from the Brethren? And what can one think of those Men, who dare affirm, That the Brethren are either forbid to speak in the Congregation by the Law of Christ, or that they are not capable of it for want of the Gift of the Holy Spirit, which they alone are empower'd to bestow on those they authorize



to preach? Some say, that the Laity have Chap. 4  
power to preach Charitatively, but not Au-  
thoritatively: and one wou'd think they  
put a great stress on this Distinction, and  
therefore seem resolv'd not to preach Cha-  
ritatively, lest it look like Lay-Preaching;  
for which if the Brethren are sufficiently  
authoriz'd, 'tis no great matter if they are  
not qualify'd for any Preaching which is  
not so.

20. The same Argument may be urg'd  
for the Laity's Baptizng; the Command  
given to the Apostles no more excluding  
'em from that, than from Preaching or Re-  
ceiving the Sacrament. But the Apostles,  
as the Persons then alone present, and  
who alone were either willing, or knew  
how to execute the Commission, were bid to  
profelyte People, by Teaching, and then  
Baptizing 'em: But after they had publish'd  
the Glad Tidings of Salvation, it became  
the Duty of the new Converts, according  
to their Abilitys and Opportunitys, to  
increase the Number of Christians; and  
therefore, as that very antient Author  
*Pseudo-Ambrose* \* observes, all at first \* Comm  
taught and baptiz'd. And the Command in Eph.  
given to the Apostles to Baptize, did not  
oblige 'em to do it themselves, but only  
to cause it to be done; and therefore  
St. Peter does not baptize *Cornelius* and his  
Houshold himself, but only commands it, Acts 10.  
and which must be perform'd by some of 48.  
the Brethren, because the Text saith, Ver. 23.  
there were none with him except cer-  
tain Brethren. So that here even Lay-

men baptiz'd the first Fruits of the Gentiles, tho the Chief of the Apostles was present. And there were great Numbers in *Samaria*, who upon *Philip's* Preaching were baptiz'd; which, if done by him, cou'd be by no other Right than what was common to all Christians, because no such Power was included in his Commission of looking after the Poor; and 'twas that alone which distinguish'd him from other Christians. And if it was done by others, the Converts must baptize one another; at least, the Apostles being all at *Jerusalem*, there cou'd be none except Brethren to perform it.

Acts 8.12. And as it was a Layman who baptiz'd the Great Apostle of the Gentiles; so he

Cor. 1.17. declares *he was not sent by Christ to baptize but to preach*: the meaning of which must be (his Commission no doubt being the same with the other Apostles) That tho he was sent to preach the Christian Religion, and to teach 'em to make a publick Profession of it by Baptism; yet he was under no Obligation of doing it with

John 4.2. his own Hands, any more than *Joshua*, who tho bid to circumcise the *Israelites*; was not oblig'd to perform the Operation himself. And in all probability, the servile Office of *washing the Filth of the Flesh*, was left to the Meanest and Lowest: and therefore our Saviour baptiz'd none himself, but left it to the Disciples; as *Peter* did the Baptizing of *Cornelius* to the Brethren. And when the 3000 were converted and added to the Church the same day, the Apostles alone cou'd

cou'd not baptize in so short a time so Chap. 4.  
 many, considering the way then was going  
 down into the Water with the Person to  
 be baptiz'd, and washing him all over.  
 But I need not insist on the Power the  
 Laity have to baptize from Scripture, since  
 the Clergy have all along allow'd the Va-  
 lidity of the Baptism not only of Laymen  
 who were within the Church, but even  
 of Schismatics and Hereticks who were  
 out of the Church: Nay, they have own'd  
 that of Boys, tho done in sport and jest,  
 to be good; witness the famous Story  
 which *Sozomen* declares of *Athanasius*, That Lib. I. c. 17.  
 when a Boy, and at play with other Lads,  
 he baptiz'd several of his Play-fellows,  
 which upon a solemn Debate was esteem'd  
 valid by the Bishop of *Alexandria* and his  
 Clergy. And the Papists themselves, tho  
 they will not allow the other Sacrament  
 can be validly perform'd by any besides a  
 Priest; yet they own that the Baptizing  
 by Women is valid. So that the Altera-  
 tion from the primitive Practice of every  
 one's baptizing, can only be on the pre-  
 tence of Order. And if every Christian  
 is capable of performing the Substantials  
 of Religion, which consist in offering up  
 Prayers and Praises to God, and receiving  
 both the Sacraments; 'tis absurd to imagine  
 he is not capable of such Circumstances, as  
 Praying aloud, distributing the Bread and  
 Wine (of which I have already spoken) or  
 according to the present Mode, of sprink-  
 ling an Infant, and repeating a set Form of  
 Words.



21. If it be a foolish and wicked Obstinacy to occasion the Destruction of the Church for the sake of the Power of any peculiar Persons, which can be of no value or use, unless as 'tis for the Service of the Church; no Set of Ecclesiasticks can have an Independent Power by Divine Right; because if they had, Men who must not do Evil that Good may come of it, wou'd be bound to adhere to them, tho it be in such Circumstances that the inevitable Ruin of the Church wou'd attend it.

22. No wise Man can doubt, that the Christians in the *Mahometan* Empire have all along acted very discreetly in submitting, upon being allow'd Liberty of Religion, to the Government's putting in and turning out their Bishops; since shou'd they have done otherwise, in all probability they wou'd have provok'd the Infidels to destroy the Church (as they have actually done in their *African* Territorys) within their Dominions: To this the Good of the Church, and not any Power the Infidels have in these Matters, obliges them to submit. So the Reform'd in *France* did very well in acquiescing in a Presbyterian Form of Church-Government, what Kindness soever they might have for Bishops; if upon those Terms only, as some say, they were to be allow'd a Toleration.

23. 'Tis no wonder, that all things relating to Church-Discipline are to be alter'd according to Circumstances; since those sometimes take off all Obligation to Church-Communion: as suppose one in a Country,

Country, where there's no Christian, is by Chap. 4.  
 reading the Bible or otherwise convinc'd  
 of the Truth of Christianity; in that case  
 he is not bound by the Laws of Christ,  
 which make no Alteration in his Civil  
 State, to leave his Friends, Relations and  
 Country, in order to be baptiz'd and join  
 himself to any Church; and consequently  
 he may be a good Christian without be-  
 ing a *Churchman*. And considering what  
 is generally meant by that Word, a *Good*  
*Christian* and a *Good Churchman* are, I am  
 afraid, very inconsistent. Nay, such may  
 a Man's Circumstances be, as to be bound to  
 leave all Church-Communion; as an Em-  
 bassador from an Infidel, who during his  
 Embassy becomes a Christian, is oblig'd to  
 return, and remain at home, if the Service of  
 his Country requires it, tho he cannot there  
 have any Church-Communion. The *Ethi-*  
*opian* Eunuch no doubt was a good Chris-  
 tian, tho he return'd to his own Country,  
 where there was no Church or Christian  
 besides himself, even before he had com-  
 municated with any Church whatever.  
 And,

24. There are other Reasons why a  
 Man may be of no Church; as if that where  
 he lives imposes the Profession of such  
 Opinions, as necessary to Communion,  
 which he in Conscience cannot consent to;  
 which, considering the imposing Temper  
 of Churches, must needs frequently happen  
 to a thinking Person. In this case, as he  
 is bound not to communicate with that  
 Church; so he is not oblig'd to forsake  
 his

\* In his Treatise, An sit semper communicandum per Sym-bola.

his Country to join with any other. *Grotius* gives two other Reasons for abstaining from Communion.

First, when it is made a Test and a Mark of Distinction for a Party and a Faction; and we are by it to signify, that we reject and disown other good Christians, who agree with us in the Fundamentals of Religion, and live as piously as our selves. Which supposes that the Famous *Grotius* was not only for Occasional Communion himself, but thought none were to be communicated with, who did not approve that charitable Principle.

Secondly, when a Person by not communicating, where there are Partys, with either side, may be in a better Capacity to exercise his Charity towards all. This he makes to be the Reason, why *St. Chrysostom* for several years refus'd to communicate with the Partys, where he liv'd; whose Example, he says, was afterwards follow'd by great numbers in *Egypt* and the *East*.

25. So that it is the greater Good which is to determine Men in this Point; and the Generality may safer venture to go to Pesthouses than to such Churches, where Charity, Moderation, and other Christian Virtues, so necessary to our future as well as present Happiness, are preach'd against; and Men are taught, on pretence of Zeal to Religion, to extirpate natural Pity, and to hate and molest innocent Persons for unavoidable differences of Opinion, even tho' those Differences are never so explain'd,



plain'd, as that the People have a just Account of them; the Common Sort learning little else than to hate, without knowing why or wherefore, all whom their Parsons rail at. But not to digress:

26. Nothing can be plainer than that all those infinite Divisions, with their fatal Consequences, which have happen'd about Church-Discipline, Modes, Forms, or Ceremonys relating to Publick Worship, are wholly occasion'd by not allowing all things; which are only Means to an End, to be of a mutable nature, and to be determin'd by the Partys concern'd, as they think best. Were this once granted, we shou'd have no more Quarrels about them, than about the Forms, Methods, and Modes of administering Justice, or any other Civil Affair: And, were the Clergy, like Men of other Professions, content to claim no Right to their Employ, or to any Privileges, not in common with other Christians, besides what they deriv'd from Human Consent; not only those shameful Quarrels which divide the Protestants about the Divine Right of the Episcoparian, Presbyterian, Independent Forms of Church-Government, wou'd fall to the ground, but the Pope's Supremacy, and the whole Priestcraft of the Romish as well as of all other Churches, must inevitably sink. As this wou'd prevent all Schism on the account of Ecclesiastical Discipline, so did not Priests set themselves in the place of God, and impiously require

require a Divine Faith to be given to their dubious Inferences and uncertain Conclusions, and as such impose 'em on the People as necessary Terms of Communion, instead of letting every one, as the Law of God requires, judg for himself; there cou'd be no Heresy on the account of Opinion, nor room for any Uncharitableness, Hatred, or Persecution; but the Christian Religion won'd, as it was design'd, render all its Votarys wonderfully happy: Then, and not till then, will the *Communion of Saints* be practicable; to which the Principles of all Partys, the Occasional Conformists only excepted, tho they all make it an Article of their Creed, stand in direct opposition.

27. That which is so much for the Good of the Church, the only Reason of all Church-Polity, cannot be contrary to the Will of God, who has oblig'd Mankind by the Law of Nature to act according to discretion in all things which are only Means. And can it be presum'd, That God became such an Enemy to the Christian Church, as to occasion, by depriving 'em of their Natural Liberty, so great a Train of Mischiefs? No, this cannot be said of an *All-good* and an *All-wise* Being; and consequently these owe their Original to the Ambition of such Men, whom nothing wou'd satisfy besides governing the People arbitrarily and uncontrollably, and who have made no better use of their Power than to enslave all who submitted to it, and to render those miserable who wou'd not own it. And,

28. They

28. They so manag'd the Credulity and Chap. 4.  
Simplicity of the poor Laity, as to make  
'em fight their Battels, and ruin and de-  
stroy one another, upon this single Ques-  
tion, Whether they shou'd be Slaves (the  
necessary Consequence of a Divine unalte-  
rable Power) to this or that Set of Eccle-  
siasticks.

How, for instance, has our unhappy  
Land of late Years been harass'd upon a  
Point of no greater importance, than,  
Whether the same Ecclesiastical Power  
shou'd be in the hands of a single Person,  
or of several; in a Bishop, or a Bench of  
Presbyters? Good God! with what Un-  
charitableness, Malice, Fury and Rage,  
did the People, at the Instigation of the  
Priests, treat one another! From Perse-  
cuting they fell to Civil Wars, and then to  
Persecutions again, which must have de-  
stroy'd the very Church they quarrel'd a-  
bout, had not our Legislators, then suf-  
ficiently sensible of the Folly of being in-  
fluenc'd by a Pack of designing self-inter-  
ested Men, put a stop to these unchristian  
Practices, by a Law, worth all that the  
Revolution, as dear as it has been bought,  
has cost the Nation: and since that time  
the People, notwithstanding their going  
to different Churches on Sundays, have  
treated one another like Brethren all the  
Week after; tho the Highfliers, who think  
themselves in a State of Persecution, while  
they are ty'd up from persecuting others,  
have ever since the Death of the late King,  
assisted by the profess'd Jacobites and Pa-  
pists,



pists, done their utmost to disturb the growing Quiet of the Nation, and to set all things in confusion, in hopes of breaking in on the Sacred Act of Toleration.

29. Which is not so much to be wonder'd at, since the Generality of the Ecclesiasticks in most Places, by the Church seem to mean only Themselves, and by Religion only their own Power and Dominion; and look on every thing else as of a mutable nature, either Good or Bad, as it makes for or against this End.

The Cause of the Church, taking it in this sense, shall sanctify all manner of Calumnys, Lyes and Frauds, as well as all oppressive and violent Methods.

To this the Peace, Quiet and Welfare of their Country shall be sacrific'd: For this Charity, Benevolence, Moderation, mutual Forbearance, and all other Christian Virtues shall be ridicul'd, and their Contrarys cry'd up as the only Virtues: For this the Christian World has in a manner been perpetually engag'd in Wars, ever since it had the Power of the Sword.

30. 'Twas by these Methods that Popery, which is High-Church with a vengeance, so far prevail'd as to swallow up all Religion; and 'twas the Business of the Reformation to rescue Religion from the all-devouring Jaws of that High-Church. Our first Reformers were as Low for Church, as they were High for Religion: And as they own'd all for their Brethren, who separated from the Errors of Popery, how much soever they differ'd from 'em

in their Forms of Ecclesiastical Government; so they did what was possible to root out all Claim in the Clergy to an Independent Power. And 'tis the Laws made to this end, which the Highfliers now rail at as destructive of the Rights of the Church; and treat not only the present Bishops, but Archbishop *Cranmer*, and the rest of the Reformers, with as much Bitterness as the Jesuits themselves do. But,

'Tis no wonder the Highfliers treat 'em so, since in all their Notions concerning the Power of the Clergy, they are too High for the Reformation; as they are too Low in Matters of Morality: tho' some say, that their Lives might serve for a very good Rule, if Men wou'd act quite contrary to them; for then there's no Christian Virtue which they cou'd fail of observing.

31. And here I must take notice, that never did any Men more grossly and notoriously sacrifice the Ends of both Civil and Ecclesiastical Government to very Unfit, or rather No Means, than those Protestants who were in the Interest of the Abdicated King; and are now in that of his Pretended Son, nurs'd up in Popery, *French* Tyranny, and a settled Hatred to the *English* Nation; and whose Coming in (which God avert) as it must be attended with a Civil War, so it will unavoidably introduce both Popery and Slavery.

32. It shows to what a degree of Folly and Madness men nurs'd in Bigotry can be brought, when they shall not only rejoice

at the Misfortunes which befall their Country, but contribute all they can towards them, by increasing our Divisions at home, and endeavouring to render all our Attempts abroad ineffectual; and in a word, do their utmost to sacrifice the Protestant Religion and the Libertys of all *Europe* to the Ambition of the *French* Tyrant: for which they can have nothing to plead, but that this may enable him to impose on us the pretended *James III.* not as a King, but a Viceroy over a Conquer'd Province, as we must inevitably be, if this Tory Scheme succeeds; for then it will be too late to think of putting any Bounds to his Power or our Misery. Where's the Difference between our selves destroying the best Religion and the best Constitution, the only valuable things with respect to this Life or the next; or putting it in the Power of the sworn Enemy of both to do it? Nothing can equal the Wickedness of such a Design, except the Folly of thinking our Religion and Libertys safe if that succeeds. For if the *French* King be once so strong, that nothing can hinder him from imposing on the Nation a Prince, to whom upon the account of his Religion and *French* Education they have a mortal Aversion, and whom by the strictest Oaths they are bound to oppose; what can prevent him from imposing any thing else, when he is so much the more powerful by having plac'd his Deputy here? Can our Religion be safe in the hands of an implacable Bigot, or our Libertys secure in  
the



the Power of a Tyrant, who uses his own People, especially those who secur'd him the Crown, so inhumanly? A thing very well worth the Torys Consideration.

33. This Conduct ought to be less wonder'd at, when 'tis consider'd, that both the Swearing and Nonswearing *Jacobites* believe the Absolute Power of Kings, and the Succession in the Right Line, to be the Doctrine of the Christian Religion; which so prevail'd in former Reigns, as to be held the Characteristical Mark of a True Church-man: and therefore none of 'em cou'd be brought to acknowledg it lawful upon any account whatever to exclude the Duke of *Tork* from the Succession. But to return.

34. The Reasons for the Mutability of Ecclesiastical Polity, and the Necessity of all Communitys having a Right to vary and alter it as they see occasion, are as many, as the Circumstances, Conditions, Inclinations, Tempers and Prejudices of Mankind are various. And all things which are only Means to an End, are to be dealt with as the Brazen Serpent among the *Israelites*; which when of use to cure Distempers, was justly reverenc'd by them, but when it prov'd the occasion of Superstition, the good Use it had before, hinder'd it not from being stamp'd to Poulder.

If a Physician varies his Medicines, as he finds the Constitution of his Patient alters, why must not the same be observ'd with relation to the Mind; and the Body

Politick, whether Ecclesiastical or Civil, dealt with after the same manner as the Body Natural.

35. We find all wise Legislators, in the framing of their Laws, have had special regard to the Tempers, Inclinations, and Prejudices, as well as to the Circumstances under which their Subjects lay; and from time to time made such Alterations relating to the Polity of the Church and State, as the Posture of Affairs requir'd.

So our late Pious King, at the Request of his Subjects in *Scotland*, restor'd Presbytery; the Persecution which the Episcoparians had been guilty of, at the instigation of the Papists, having given the People a general Dissatisfaction. And our most Gracious Queen promises to maintain the Presbyterian Discipline in *Scotland*, not that she thinks Episcopacy, as the Law made by her Grandfather for abolishing it in that Kingdom declares, *Repugnant to the Word of God*; but acts herein upon the same Motive as the late King of Glorious Memory. And we can't enough admire her Majesty's great Wisdom, who considers Discipline as made for the Church, and not the Church for That; and therefore is not for forcing any particular Form on the Churches within her Dominions, disagreeable to them; but as she is for maintaining Episcopacy in *England*, yet allowing a Toleration to such as can't comply with it, so she is for Presbytery in *Scotland*. Her Majesty's acting after this most prudent manner, being so much for the  
gene-

id. Lord  
Clarendon's Hist.  
of the Re-  
bellion,  
vol. 1.  
p. 244.

general Good of her Subjects, they can't Chap. 4.  
too gratefully acknowledg it; especially  
considering not only how much these Na-  
tions have suffer'd by a contrary Method,  
but how impossible it is, that during so ex-  
pensive a War they otherwise cou'd subsist;  
and that the only way to keep the Ecclesia-  
sticks, of any sort whatever, within tole-  
rable Bounds, is to have 'em thus on their  
Good Behaviour. But,

36. I need not insist on the Conduct even  
of the wisest of human Governors; since  
God himself, when he condescended to act  
as King of the *Jews*, had in enacting their  
Laws, especially the Ecclesiastical, great  
regard not only to the Circumstances the  
*Jews* were in with relation to other Nati-  
ons, but to their own unaccountable Preju-  
dices, gross Ignorance, profound Stupidity,  
and Hardness of Heart.

37. Since Infinite Wisdom can't but  
contrive the best, the *Jewish* Laws, how  
odd soever they may seem at this distance,  
were no doubt the best for the *Jews* when  
they were fram'd, as most adapted to  
their Circumstances. What *Solon* saith of  
the *Athenian* Laws, That tho they were  
not absolutely the Best, yet they were the  
Best that People cou'd bear, may be very  
well apply'd to the Laws given to the *Jews*;  
since it can't be suppos'd, that at any time  
they were the best for other Nations, or  
for the *Jews* themselves in all Circumstan-  
ces: for then *Peter* wou'd not have call'd  
them, *A Yoke which neither we nor our Fa-* Acts 15. 10  
*thers* cou'd bear. And were it not for  
this



this necessary Distinction, the Character gi-  
Deut. 4. 6. ven that Law by *Moses* and the Psalmist  
Ps. 19. 7, 8. wou'd be utterly inconsistent with what is  
said of it by the Prophets and in the New  
Testament. And,

Ezek. 20.  
35,

38. If among the *Jews* there was a fre-  
quent Necessity of Change, and God as  
their King, to whom they might on oc-  
casion appeal, not only directed 'em what  
to do in doubtful Cases, but when any  
Law by alteration of Circumstances hap-  
pen'd to be inconvenient, dispens'd with  
the Observation of it, in preferring *Mercy*  
*before Sacrifice*; and yet their Body of  
Laws became an intolerable Burden, or in  
the Prophet's words, *Laws that were not*  
*Good, and Judgments by which they cou'd not*  
*live*; infomuch that God thought it ne-  
cessary for the Good of that People  
wholly to abrogate 'em, even tho he had  
declar'd more than once they shou'd last  
for ever; I may add, that had God acted  
as King of any other Nation, their Laws,  
whether relating to Ecclesiasticals or Civils,  
wou'd have as much differ'd from these of  
the *Jews* as their Circumstances; and that  
they wou'd have been alter'd by him from  
time to time as their Condition requir'd,  
as 'tis practis'd, in all other Govern-  
ments. These things, I say, plainly show,  
That where God acts not as a Political  
Prince in making Alterations from time to  
time, there can be nothing relating to Ec-  
clesiastical Polity obligatory, except gene-  
ral Rules, such as *doing all things for the*  
*Honour*

*Honour of God, for Edification, Peace, Order, Chap. 2*  
*Decency, &c.* and that Men are to alter  
 and vary all Means, as seems best to that  
 Discretion God has given them for this  
 End; and that this must be necessarily  
 so, where a Religion is not only to last to  
 the End of the World, but in time to  
 extend to all the Nations of it. And  
 considering how widely different Nations  
 are in all Circumstances and Respects, there  
 can be no particular Form of Church-Polity  
 which must not somewhere or other be  
 prejudicial to the End it was instituted  
 for.

59. One grand Cause of Mistake in this  
 Matter is, not considering when God acts  
 as Governor of the Universe, and when as  
 Prince of a particular Nation. The *Jews*,  
 when they came out of the Land of Bon-  
 dage, were under no settled Government,  
 till God was pleas'd to offer himself to be  
 their King, to which all the People ex-  
 pressly consented; and upon the Covenant's  
 being ratify'd after the most solemn man-  
 ner which cou'd be, God gave 'em those  
 Laws which bound no Nation except those  
 that had agreed to the *Horeb* Contract. But  
 were these that are now Christians, with-  
 out any Government upon Christ's coming  
 into the World? Or did God by Christ  
 make any such Contract as that of *Horeb*  
 with them? Or did Christ act, like *Moses*,  
 as God's Viceroy? No, he came as a pri-  
 vate Person, whose Kingdom is not of this  
 World, to give not one Nation only, but all  
 Mankind, Precepts relating to our Duty

Exod. 19

Deut. 5

to one another as well as to God, without depriving any of the Right they were invested with: and consequently in whose hands the determining of Civil or Ecclesiastical Matters were before his Coming, in those he left them. And,

40. All we are to learn from the Discipline of the Primitive Christians, or the Directions they receiv'd from inspir'd Persons, is not that we are oblig'd to observe the same, but that like them we act agreeably to the Circumstances we are in. 'Twas this Consideration which quickly caus'd the Apostolick Command of *Saluting with a Holy Kiss*, to be laid aside; and the same Reason abrogated the whole Order of Deaconesses, and imploy'd Deacons to other Purposes than serving of Tables, the only Reason of their Institution. So that Deaconship, when it was no longer imploy'd in looking after the Poor, became a new Office under an old Name: and Episcopacy it self, as distinct from, and superior to Presbytery, must likewise be reckon'd a new Office; since *Presbyter* and *Bishop* in the New Testament are always us'd synonymously: there being no Election or Ordination, Character, or any thing else to distinguish 'em; but the Office of both is made to consist in doing the same things. So that all the Skill of the Prelatists is not able to discover the least distinction; and 'tis impossible the Apostles shou'd constitute distinct Offices, and yet no where distinguish 'em, but on the contrary, every where represent 'em the same,



as if it were on purpose to confound those Functions in the Church, the distinguishing of which is generally suppos'd essential to its Being. How unlike is this to the Case of the Jewish Oeconomy, where even the minutest Matters are describ'd with the nicest Exactness? Chap. 4.

41. If Things which are not of a Moral Nature, oblige us now by virtue of the Commands given to the first Christians, why are not the *Sick anointed with Oil*? and why do not Men abstain from *Blood and Things strangled*, forbid with the greatest Solemnity imaginable? What can be more strictly requir'd than to wash one another's Feet? one of the last Commands of our dying Lord; which the more to enforce, he not only sets his Disciples a Precedent, but declares that *He who is not wash'd has no part in him.* Joh. 13.

42. If there are several Things not obligatory to us now, tho injoin'd the first Christians even in the same Precept with those which are, as Oil with Prayers, Blood and Things strangled with Fornication; what other way can we distinguish 'em, than that Moral things being on their own account eternally obligatory, must bind us as well as them; but that other Things, which by reason of their Circumstances oblig'd them, do not bind us? For whatever obliges all Mankind, and at all Times, must be declar'd to do so, either by Reason or Scripture. Now it cannot be pretended that by Reason any but Moral Things are obligatory, under which I reckon those general

ral Rules relating to Ecclesiastical Polity, given to no purpose, if the Partys concern'd had not a Power to apply 'em as they saw occasion: Nor can it be said that by Scripture, Things which are not of a Moral nature bind all Mankind in all Ages, because there are no Texts relating to 'em, so extensive as to reach future Generations: and if things by being barely enjoin'd the first Disciples, affected Posterity, all things requir'd of 'em equally wou'd. And since it must happen that particular Practices will be inconsistent with general Rules, there's a necessity that one must give place to the other; and which shou'd, I need not determine.

43. The Clergy pretend it was necessary for the Being of the Church, that the Apostles shou'd have a Right to govern those they converted, antecedent to their Conversion; and that for the continuance of the Church, they were to convey this Power to others, and they again, on to the End of the World. But,

This is most certain, that where God requires Things to be done, and appoints not any certain Persons to do 'em, or orders who shall, of common Right it belongs to the Partys concern'd to determine among themselves who shall have the doing of 'em; and therefore the Apostles having a Divine Commission to convert Men to Christianity, did not hinder their Converts from having a Right to order all Things, which requir'd a special Determination, according to those Rules they taught 'em.

em. So that Churches might not only be gather'd at first, but for ever continue in being, and yet no Persons have any Power, except what was deriv'd from the People.

44. If one might teach Men to form themselves into a Civil Society, without thereby acquiring a Right to govern 'em, tho' he acted by a Divine Commission, there can be no pretence why it might not be the same in relation to forming Men into an Ecclesiastical Society. And the Apostles requiring People to observe certain Rules in their Assembling to worship God, and to have Ministers so and so qualify'd, necessarily supposes the Power relating to these Things to be fundamentally lodg'd in the People; otherwise they may either be oblig'd to be without any Worship, or go contrary to these Rules, and submit to Ministers who have not the Apostolick Qualifications, as they do at present in almost all places where the Priests act independently. Shou'd any Missionarys now-a-days convert Nations of Infidels, tho' that wou'd not give 'em a Right to govern 'em; yet their Converts wou'd no doubt be willing to be directed by 'em in the management of their Ecclesiastical Concerns, as those the Apostles converted were by them; who having the Power of discerning Spirits, and bestowing extraordinary Qualifications for the discharge of the Ministerial Function, were in duty bound to recommend Ministers, and the People oblig'd to receive 'em, not for any

Domi-



Dominion or Power the Apostles had over 'em, but for the Good of their Souls; as for the Good of their Bodys, they are to submit to the Prescription of able Physicians. And had any now-a-days the Power of bestowing extraordinary Qualifications for the discharge of the Civil Ministry, the State no doubt wou'd be bound for its own Good to imploy such as had those Qualifications given 'em; and yet that wou'd not hinder but the whole Power wou'd be still in the State.

45. 'Tis not therefore enough for those who affirm the People are divested of the Power of managing their Ecclesiastical Concerns, according to the general Rules of the Gospel, to show that the Government they contend for was of the Apostolick Age, or that there are Commands of submitting to it, for so there are to the *Roman* Emperors. No, they ought to produce some positive Depriving Law, reaching to all Christians in all Ages, as plain and expresse as the Law of Nature which gives the People this Right; and it ought as plainly to appear in what Set of Men this Power is immutably invested. But,

46. Whosoever without prejudice looks into the New Testament, will be so far from finding any such Law, that he must perceive, especially by the General Epistles, that as each Church was without any Subordination or Dependence on any other, so all things relating to Decency, Order, Peace, Edification, the Suppression of

of Scripture-Schisms, or any other point Chap. 4.  
 of Discipline, belong'd to the People, or  
 in other words the Brethren, the Faithful,  
 the Belov'd of God, the Elect, the Saints,  
 to whom these Epistles were address'd.  
 As God is to judge those without, so they are, 1 Cor. 5.  
 to judge those within, or their own Mem- 12, 13.  
 bers. 'Tis they, as the Apostle tells the  
 People of Corinth, who are to purge the old Ver. 7.  
 Leaven, and to put away the wicked Person: 13.  
 and therefore he blames 'em for not censur-  
 ing, when they were gather'd together, the Ver. 4, 5.  
 incestuous Corinthian; which Censure of  
 theirs he afterwards calls the Punishment 2 Cor. 2. 6,  
 inflicted of the Many. And as the Brethren,  
 the Spiritual Brethren, are to restore one Gal. 6. 1.  
 taken in a Fault; so they are to warn the 1 Thess. 5.  
 Unruly, and to see that none render Evil for 14, 15.  
 Evil, and to mark those who cause Offences, Rom. 16.  
 and avoid them; and not to keep Company 17.  
 with a Brother that's covetous, or a Drun- 1 Cor. 5. 11.  
 kard, Railer, Fornicator, &c. And Cle-  
 mens Romanus, whom I mention with the  
 Apostles, because he was, as (a) Bishop  
 Fell, one of the Editors of his Epistle to  
 the Corinthians, says, an Author antienter than  
 some of the Writings even of the New Testament,  
 and read with 'em publickly in the Churches,  
 being by most esteem'd as a Person inspir'd by  
 God: He, I say, calls the Censures of the Epist. ad  
 Church, Things commanded by the People. Corinth.  
 Ed. Oxon.

4to.

(a) Author novi Testamenti ipsius scriptis nonnul-  
 lis antiquior; & in Ecclesiis una cum ipsis publice lec-  
 tus, & tanquam *θεόπνευτος* a plerisque habitus.

And

And in the Apostolick Age we hear only of *Diotrephes*, who so far affected Pre-eminence as to presume by his single Authority to throw Men out of the Church: and it wou'd be transcribing a great part of the Epistles, to show how all things relating to Edification, Peace, Order, Decency, are refer'd to the People. And tho the Epistle to the *Philippians* is directed to the Bishops and Deacons, I mean in due order after the People, viz. to the Saints with their Bishops and Deacons, yet there's nothing in particular address'd to Them, but there as well as every where else, all is to the Body of the People. And as 'tis plain, by the General Epistles, that all Church-Power was in the People; so we find 'em, before these were written, exercising this Power: for they voted not only in the Election of Deacons, but even in the making an Apostle, they first appointed out of their Number two as Candidates for the Apostleship; and then, according to the Jewish Custom, determin'd the Person by giving forth their Lots. So it was they who sent forth *Barnabas*, and they appointed *Companions and Assistants* for the Apostle *Paul* in his Travels; whom he terms the *Apostles of the Churches*, and the *Glory of Christ*. And if they were thus concern'd in chusing extraordinary Ministers, it can't be thought but they exercis'd the same Power in chusing the Ordinary: and therefore tho the Apostles, as chief Directors, are said to ordain, yet it was, as their Cotemporary *Clemens Romanus* assures us, with the Consent of the whole Church; or as the old Translation justly renders the Text,  
by



by holding up the Hands of the People, the usual way of expressing their Consent. At the famous Council of Jerusalem, the Brethren were concern'd as well as the Apostles and Elders; and the Letters were written in the name of these three Orders: and as 'tis in the Church, which in Scripture always signifies the People, that our Saviour places the *dernier Resort*; so we find the Apostles themselves think it their Duty to give an account of their Actions to them, as Peter did in the Case of Cornelius. And,

47. The Apostles, as appears by their Commission, had no Power besides what was miraculous, except to declare his Will by whom they were commission'd, and where they do not act as his Messengers or Embassadors, to pretend only to offer Advice; and they do not preach themselves (as they wou'd, had they any Law-making Power) but Christ, and themselves their (the Peoples) Servants for Jesus sake. Nay, St. Paul saith, 'Tis the Man of Sin, the Son of Perdition, the Adversary, who exalts himself above all that is call'd God, or worship'd; he as God sitting in the Temple of God, showing himself that he is God. Which Character, as it can't belong to any Heathen, because none of 'em can be said to sit in the Temple of God; so no Christian Layman, on this pretence, exalts himself above all Sovereign Powers, who in Scripture are call'd Gods: and consequently it must denote an Ecclesiastick, who on pretence of Sitting (a word signifying Authority) in the Temple or Church of God, claims the Govern-

Government of the Church to himself, and consequently Power over these Gods of the Earth, as his Subjects in Ecclesiasticals: and *cr. 9, 10,* this he brings about *by the effectual Working of Satan, with all his Power, and Signs, and lying Wonders, and in all the Undeceivingness of Unrighteousness:* or in other words, by holy Cheats, sham Miracles, and all manner of Lies and Forgerys; such as claiming a judicial Power of Binding and Loosing, a Power of giving the Holy Ghost, conferring Grace, &c. And this is agreeable to what our Saviour declares, *lat. 24.* That *there shall arise false Christs and false Prophets, and shall shew great Signs and Wonders; so that, if it were possible, they shall deceive the very Elect.* And tho Antichrist in the Prophe-tick Stile, is describ'd as a single Person; yet his Name is *Legion*, since all are more or less concern'd, who claim an Independent Power, and by virtue of it exalt the Church above the State, and the Clergy above the Laity. But 'tis not strange this *Mystery of Iniquity* shou'd have spread it self far and wide, since it was working even in the Apostles time. But of this more hereafter.

48. What's chiefly urg'd to encounter these and a great number of other Proofs to be mention'd hereafter, are either Texts of the Old Testament relating to the Jewish Government, which every body may see are foren to the Matter; or else figurative Expressions of Binding and Loosing; which did they belong to the Ministers in a peculiar manner, as 'tis plain from Scrip-ture

ture they do not; yet they who urge 'em Chap. 4.  
 dare not stand by such a Sense as gives 'em  
 a Judicial Power: or else they are such  
 Phrases as *Know them who labour among you, 1 Thess. 1.*  
*and are your Leaders in the Lord,* or as we <sup>12.</sup>  
 translate it, *are over you in the Lord;* or,  
*Remember your Guides who have spoken to* Heb. 13. 7.  
*you the Words of the Lord;* or, *Be persuaded* Heb. 13. 17.  
*by your Guides,* which we render, *Obeys those*  
*who have the Rule over you,* tho the word  
 πρέσβετε, as often as it occurs, is never trans-  
 lated so in any other Place. And tho 'tis  
 said in the same Verse, *Submit to them;* yet  
 so are the *Younger bid to do to the Elder: 1 Pet. 5. 5.*  
 nay which is more, all are commanded to  
 be *subject to one another.* As these Texts  
 interpret one another, so to take 'em in  
 a strict sense is not only contrary to Rea-  
 son, but to a great number of plain Texts,  
 which oblige Men to try, examine, and  
 judg the Doctrine of their Guides; and if  
 they take 'em to be *Seducers, Deceivers,* or  
*false Teachers,* to avoid and fly from 'em.  
 And if they are to treat 'em thus, not  
 only on account of their Doctrines, but  
 Lives, as the Rule extends to all immoral  
 Men without the least exception; they  
 have all the Power over their Guides which  
 'tis possible for Men to have on a Church-  
 Account: Since separating from 'em for  
 any of these Reasons, and owning 'em still  
 for Guides, are inconsistent. And this  
 last is so much the Right of the People,  
 that we find as late as the third Century,  
 a Council where St. Cyprian was President,  
 applauding the People of Spain for deposing



a Couple of ill Bishops, and chusing others in their (a) Places. And in their Synodical Epistle they tell 'em, " That what they did was according to Divine Laws; " and that if they had continu'd to communicate with 'em, they had been accessory to their Guilt, and offended against those Commands which oblige Men to separate from a Priest who is a Sinner; " and that it principally belong'd to them to chuse Worthy, and reject Unworthy Priests. And after the same manner St.

L. c. 44. *Irenaeus* declares himself. But, *Gen.* 49. I can't omit the Texts, which the Clergy suppose gave the Apostles a Right, not only to govern the Church themselves, but upon their Decease to appoint Successors, with an Authority for them to name theirs, so that the Succession might be continu'd to the end of the World; and they are a piece of a Verse in *John* the 20th, *As my Father sent me, so send I you*; join'd with a part of a Verse in the last of *Matthew*, *Lo I am with you to the End of the World.* But

Christ, as appears by the foregoing Verse, tho he had all Power given him after his Resurrection, yet he gives none to his Disciples further than authorizing, or rather requiring 'em to teach Nations to observe all things, whatsoever he had commanded 'em. So that the Sense in which

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(a) Epist. 68. §. 138. p. 200. Cyprian. Oper. Fol. Edit. Sim. Goulard. apud Johan. le Preux. 1593.

the Apostles were sent by Christ, as he was by God, was not to do their own Will, but his who sent 'em, or, as St. John explains it, *To declare what they had seen and heard*: In the doing of which Christ promises to be with 'em all the days even to the end of the Age, for so it is in the Original. Now if it be unnatural to extend to other Persons a Promise given to the Apostles, to enable 'em to execute what they alone were intrusted to do, and in performing which they cou'd have no Successors; all the Power the Clergy claim by these Texts falls to the ground: and if *For ever, till the Coming of the Lord*, and such like Expressions which occur in Scripture, extend no further than the Persons they are spoken to, tho they do not live for ever, or till the Coming of the Lord; there can be no pretence why this Promise shou'd reach further than the Apostles, and the Age they were to live and spend in that Employ, for the sake of, which the Promise was given. But if it must extend to all other Ages, what Reason can there be for this gross Partiality of confining it to the Clergy, and not letting it extend to the Church or Body of Christians, who in all Nations, by means of the Apostles, were to be converted? Are they not just mention'd before, and are not they the Body which Christ as the Head is constantly with? and have not the *Lay* as well as the *Clergy* the Promise of the Spirit? Or does it appear by the Conduct of the Clergy, that Christ is more with them than with the Laity? But suppose the

Promise was made to the Clergy alone, they cannot pretend that Christ is with them as he was with the Apostles, or that he said, *As I send you, so send you others*, and they on to the end of the World, or that these Words immediately follow'd one another. So that tho it be taken for granted that the Government of the Church was in the Apostles, and the Promise was made to the Clergy exclusively of all others, the Question will be, whether Christ's saying, *I am with you to the end of the World*, signifies any more than *walking with them, never leaving or forsaking them, being in the midst of 'em*; Phrases which import God's peculiar Care and watchful Providence over them. Does Christ, when he says, *He will be in the midst of two or three gather'd together in his Name*, give 'em the Government of the Church, with power to appoint their Successors? And they who think that a Right to govern the Church by way of Succession from the Apostles, with a power to communicate it to others, must be included in this Expression of *Christ's being with them*, must either think there's no other way of his being with 'em, than by giving 'em Power over the Church; or that whenever they get this Power, God is with 'em. And one would be apt to suspect that this was the Sense of too many of the Clergy in most Ages, since that has been their sole Aim, and they have equally embrac'd all means which serv'd to promote it. But what mainly contributed to rob the Body of the Faithful of these glorious Pri-



vileges and Powers, which by Scripture belong to 'em under the name of the *Church*, is the Clergy's applying that Word to themselves, exclusively of all others. And tho the Method of retaining Names when Things are alter'd, is what Tyrannys generally practise, in order to make the Change more easily go down with the unthinking Multitude; yet this has been no where practis'd with such Success as in Ecclesiastical Matters, and the Christian World has been infinitely abus'd by new Senses being put on the words *Church*, *Schism*, *Heresy*, and such like.

50. What I have mention'd here concerning the Government of the Church from Scripture, is to prevent the Reader from being so intirely possess'd with a Belief of the Clergy's having a Divine Right to it, as to be deaf to all the Arguments from Reason to the contrary. And lest he shou'd imagine that Things relating to Ecclesiastical Discipline were always as at present they are, I shall beg leave to hint at the great Remains of the Primitive Democratical Form even in the third Century; and to that end shall only quote the famous *Cyprian*, who flourish'd in the middle of it, the rather because he says, 'tis a *dangerous thing for any in Divine Matters to recede from his full Power and Authority*. And therefore it cannot be presum'd, had he thought the Government of the Church by Divine Right belong'd to the Clergy, but he wou'd have forbid the Laity from sacrilegiously meddling with it. But he,

good Man, on the contrary declares, That  
 p. 6. §. 5. he was resolv'd to do nothing by his own private  
 p. 17. Judgment without the Consent of the People  
 of his District; and that all Affairs, as their  
 mutual Honour requir'd, shou'd be debated in  
 Common. And accordingly he professes him-  
 self not sufficient to judg of the Misdemea-  
 p. 28. §. 2. nors of two Subdeacons and an Acolyth,  
 p. 62. but says, they ought to be try'd by all the People.  
 p. 40. §. 1. So he declares the Schism of *Felicissimus* was  
 p. 94. to be judg'd according to the Arbitriment and  
 common Counsel of the People; and that the  
 p. 10. §. 4. Laps'd were not to be absolv'd, tho in a  
 p. 30. time of Persecution, till Peace was restor'd  
 p. 55. §. to the Church, that they might plead their  
 7. p. 143. Cause before all the People. So he affirms, that  
 p. 40. §. 1. whosoever was excommunicated, it was by  
 p. 92. the Suffrages of the People. And as *Pontine*  
 p. 1. vita his Deacon says, That he was made Bishop  
 p. yprian. by the Grace of God, and the Favour of the  
 p. 15, 11, People; so he himself in several Epistles ac-  
 p. 34. knowledges he owes his Advancement to  
 p. 68. them; and not only declares that in all Or-  
 dinations he acted by their common Counsel,  
 but makes it a General Practice, and of Aposto-  
 lic Observation, and of Divine Institution,  
 for the Bishop to be chosen by the Suffrages  
 of the People, to which he adds the Judg-  
 ment and Advice of the neighbouring Bi-  
 shops: not that we can suppose he thought  
 they had an equal Authority with the People  
 in this Matter, because that wou'd be incon-  
 sistent with what both he and these Bishops  
 had declar'd in their Synodical Epistle be-  
 fore quoted, that *Plebs maxime habet Potestatem*  
*vel eligendi dignos Sacerdotes vel indignos recen-*  
*sandi.*

51. And 'twas not in Matters of the Chap. 4. greatest moment, but in all others, as he owns, that the People were concern'd: as Ep. 6. §. 5. for instance, a Letter cou'd not be sent to P. 17. a foren Church before the Brotherhood agreed to it, nor one receiv'd before it was Ep. 58. §. 2. p. 163. read to them all; whom he treats with Ep. 55. §. 21. p. 144. the highest Respect, as may be seen by the Titles he bestows on them, as that 'tis against the (a) *Faithful and Uncorrupted Majesty* of the People for any who are without to judg of their Bishops. And as he gives no less Epithet to the *Votes* of the People in Excommunication than (b) *Divine*, so he terms their *Persons* (c) *Most Holy*. And indeed nothing was more common than to bestow the highest Title, such as the Pope and other great Church-Dons now reserve to themselves, on the People: and the higher you go, the greater Veneration will you find paid them. St. Ignatius tells Polycarp, That he was not only personally to know his whole Flock, but to carry himself with all Humility to serving-Men and Maids. And the Divine Clemens Romanus professes so high a Respect for the People, that he wou'd have every one say, that to avoid all Contest on his account he was ready to depart, and go wherever the People please, and to do whatever they shall enjoin him. And where he

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(a) Plebis intus positæ fidelis atque incorrupta Majestas. Ep. 59. p. 138. Ox. Edit.

(b) Secundum vestra Divina Judicia conjurati. Ep. 40. §. 1. p. 92.

(c) Sanctissimæ Plebi. Ep. 55. §. 21. p. 144.



blames 'em, 'tis not for assuming a Power not belonging to 'em, but for making a wrong use of it, *inturning out such Bishops as they themselves had chosen, and who serv'd the Flock of Christ with all Humility, &c.* And therefore he compares 'em to those who abus'd a rightful Power in punishing *Daniel, &c.* And herein these Persons say nothing disagreeable to the Sense of *St. Paul*, who as he forbids the People to glory in their Teachers, tho' Apostles, so he says, *That They*

Cor. 3.  
1,22,23.

*and all Things* (meaning all they could do) *are yours, and ye are Christ's, and Christ is God's.* Had there been any such Climax spoken concerning the Clergy, that the People and all things are theirs, and they are Christ's, and Christ is God's; we should have had perpetual Harangues about it, especially from our Modern Divines.

52. The most antient Fathers acknowledged that they owe all unto and receive all from the Church or People. Hence *Tertullian* takes it, in building Arguments on it, for a receiv'd and unquestionable Truth, "That the Distinction between the Laity and Clergy was owing to the Church; That otherwise Laymen might exercise the Priestly Office, Christ having made us all Priests to God; and that where three are gather'd together in Christ's Name, there's a Church, tho' three Laymen; it being the Will of God, that at all times we shou'd be capable of the Sacraments. And 'tis plain from this Father, That the Heterodox not only allow'd Laymen to be capable of exercising

Casti-

ercising Ecclesiastical Functions, but en- Chap. 4.  
 join'd 'em so to do: and therefore as to  
 the Capacity of the Laity for these Functions, the whole Christian World was agreed, tho the Heterodox were more on their guard against Priestcraft, since to prevent it, they had a sort of Rotation of Ecclesiastical Offices; for *Tertullian* says, " With them one *Ibid.*  
 " to day is a Bishop, to morrow another;  
 " a Deacon this day becomes a Reader the  
 " next; a Presbyter to day, is to morrow  
 " a Layman. But had there been at first so great a Distinction between the Clergy and the Laity as obtain'd afterward, there can be no doubt, seeing they have every where grown on the Laity, but they wou'd have been able to hinder 'em from usurping on their Divine Rights. And therefore whatever Privileges or Powers they enjoy'd, especially so early as this, we may justly conclude they had from the Beginning of Christianity.

53. Had the Scripture been silent, the Presumption wou'd have been, That the first Christians in their several Congregations manag'd their Concerns by a Majority; as all private voluntary Societys, where the Members are independent of one another, at first do, till either the Greatness of the Numbers, or the Designs of the leading Men, make 'em alter this Method. And this Presumption is the more reasonable, since the Places where the Gospel was at first preach'd, were petty Commonwealths, which manag'd not only their Ecclesiastical but Civil Affairs, I mean what  
 the

the *Romans* left to 'em, after a Popular manner. And tho the Account we have from Antiquity is obscure, and perhaps sometimes purposely so; yet so far 'tis plain, That in the Ecclesiastical Assemblies of the first Christians, all the People had Votes, and that one of their Presbyters was the President, who by degrees, tho not till after *Irenaeus's* time, appropriated the Name of Bishop to himself (which yet no more made him of a distinct Order, than a Prolocutor wou'd be, if he had that Name given him) and the rest of the Presbyters were a standing Committee to prepare Matters for the Grand Assembly of the People. But when by the Largeness of the Districts, and the Multitude of Converts belonging to 'em, this Method became impracticable, the Clergy made their Advantage of it, in getting the Management of all Ecclesiastical Affairs into their own hands, except the Right of chusing Bishops, which the People preserv'd for a considerable time longer. And as the Presbyters got all the Power from the People, so the President or Bishop extended his Power over both; which the Presbyters bore the more contentedly, because, besides the Prospect of being advanc'd to that high Office, the greatness of which in some measure redounded to all their Honour, they cou'd, by being united to their Bishop as their Head, keep the People better in subjection. Nay, there was a Necessity in the greater Districts, where the Clergy were too numerous, and at  
too



too great a distance to assemble upon all Chap. 4.  
occasions, to place a great Power in the Bishop's hands, which they very well knew how to improve; and the other Bishops were without question very fond of copying after such Precedents. And as 'tis not unusual for such as in the beginning are left more at liberty to work themselves into a stricter and preciser Form of Government, each Officer, tho under the same Name, endeavouring to enlarge and aggrandize the Power of his Office; so we must allow, that by this or some such Method the Bishops obtain'd their Power over their Fellow-Presbyters, and both over the People; since the Gospel is so far from bestowing on either such Power, that its whole Tenor is directly contrary to it.

54. 'Tis easy to observe, That as great Changes happen in the World in a less space of time, where the People are more wary, more careful in watching, and more inclin'd to oppose Changes, than they were at the beginning of Christianity, when the People being generally new Converts, intending only the Salvation of their Souls, and having a superstitious Veneration for their Guides, who they believ'd wou'd lead 'em to everlasting Happiness, intirely submitted to them, never questioning that what they did was for their Good; or if you will, according to Mr. Hales, " That thro Sloth and blind Obedience Men examin'd not the things they were taught, but like Beasts of Burden patiently couch'd down, and indifferent-

*Traff of Schism.*

ly

“ly underwent whatsoever their Superiors laid on them. And Churches corresponding together, and endeavouring to form themselves to one Model, 'tis not strange that That by degrees prevail'd, where the Presidents got so much Power.

55. If we may take St. Cyprian's as well as St. Jerom's Word for it, the Preservation of the Peace and Unity of the Church, and not any Divine Right, was the reason of establishing a Superiority in one of the Presbyters over the rest; otherwise there wou'd, as they say, have been as many Schisinaticks as Presbyters (no great Complement to the Clergy of those days) And this Argument by degrees was carry'd to its utmost extent, for it not only destroy'd that Equality which was at first among the Presbyters, but that which afterwards was among the Bishops, by setting Archbishops over the Bishops, and then Patriarchs over them; and at last, according to its necessary Consequence, it ended in one single Supremacy over the whole Church. So that Ecclesiastical Government has undergone as great an Alteration as any other, having been chang'd from a Democratical to an Aristocratical, and then to a Monarchical Form: and now many Places differ from others as much in the Modes of their Ecclesiastical as Civil Government.

56. The Emperors, after they became Christian, concerning themselves with all Ecclesiastical Matters, made a great Alteration in the Government of the Church; since

since then the Affairs of it, as *Socrates* observes, depended upon them.

If any Form of Church-Government was immutably establish'd by Christ, it wou'd have been at its first Settlement perfect and compleat, and all things necessary to its Well-being plac'd in proper Hands; which must exclude the Magistrate from meddling in the least with it, since it was not only settled without him, but took root, grew up, and flourish'd for the first three hundred years in opposition to him: and consequently he cou'd not exercise the least Power in it, as he does now the greatest in all National Churches; nay he cou'd not meddle with the Maintenance of the Clergy, which must have been settl'd at first, as well as any other matter whatever; and that for the first three hundred Years was only the voluntary Contributions of the People.

57. Upon this Hypothesis, how can the Clergy justify the Magistrate in making Laws for Uniformity, for settling the Limits of Parishes and Districts, for Building, Repairing and Endowing Churches; or for appointing the least Circumstance or Ceremony relating to Publick Worship; for the Calling, Presiding over, and Dissolving of Synods, with an infinite number of other things, which the Primitive Christians manag'd without him?

Upon this Supposition, ours of all Churches, not only by reason of the great Extent of the Regal Supremacy, but on other accounts, is least to be defended:  
for



for if the Government of the Church was settled by God in a Presbyterian Parity, having a Superior Order must be unlawful; or if in an Order superior to them, then the Supreme Power of making Laws for the Church must be in the Bishops alone: nor cou'd Deans, Archdeacons, and other Presbyters exercise Episcopal Jurisdiction: nor cou'd there be the least Pretence for Exempt Places, and Laymen exercising all Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in them; or for the Power of Lay-Chancellors, who in most things act independently of the Bishops; or for the Universitys excommunicating and authorizing People to preach; and several other things not to be parallel'd in any antient, nor I think modern Church.

58. The better part of Protestant Writers, as Bishop *Stillingfleet* has shown in his *Irenicum*, acknowledg there's no particular Form of Church Government of Divine Appointment, but that 'tis of a mutable nature, and ought to be chang'd according to Circumstances: The Consequence of which is, That no particular Set of Men can have a Divine Right to it, because that must be under some Form or other; but there being no such of Divine Institution, it belongs of course to the Partys concern'd to appoint what Form they think best; and consequently, they who officiate under that Form, can have no Power unless by virtue of it; nor can their Power last longer than that does, which is dissolvable by those who set it up.

And

And they who do not in exprefs Terms Chap. 4.  
 say, Ecclesiastical Government is of a mu-  
 table nature, do in effect own so much, by  
 supposing it was modell'd according to  
 the Pattern of the Roman Civil Govern-  
 ment.

§ 9. If what Mr. *Dodwel* says over and  
 over in his *Paranesis ad Exteros* be true,  
 that the Discipline of the Church is not  
 to be found in the New Testament, being  
 much later than That; and that for the first  
 hundred years there were but two ordinary  
 Orders in the Church, Presbyters and Dea-  
 cons, and that the Presbyters had no Ju-  
 risdiction; and appeals to the Scripture  
 for any one Act of it done by them: and  
 in another place says, that the Clergy then  
 cou'd have no Power to exclude People  
 from the Sacrament, that being admini-  
 ster'd by the Gifted Laity. If these things,  
 I say, be true (none of our Divines having  
 thought fit to answer his *Paranesis*, tho pub-  
 lish'd in *English* as well as *Latin*) it shows  
 how much in the wrong the Clergy are, in  
 having recourse to Scripture for proof of  
 their Power and Authority.

De Jure  
 Sacerdot  
 Laicor.

The ever-memorable Mr. *Hales* is so can-  
 did as to own, " That they do but abuse  
 " themselves and others, who wou'd per-  
 " suade us that Bishops by Christ's Insti-  
 " tution have any Superiority over other  
 " Men; for we have believ'd him who  
 " told us, that in Jesus Christ there's nei-  
 " ther High nor Low, and that in giving  
 " Honour every Man shou'd be ready to  
 " prefer another before himself; which Say-  
 " ing

“ ing must certainly cut off all Claim to  
 “ Superiority by Title of Christianity,  
 “ except Men can think these things were  
 “ spoken to poor and private Men. Na-  
 “ ture and Religion agree in this, that  
 “ neither of them had a hand in this He-  
 “ raldry of *Secundum, Sub & Supra*; all  
 “ this comes from Composition and A-  
 “ greement of Men among themselves.  
 And Father *Paul*, tho a Papist, yet being a  
 Person of great Ingenuity as well as Judg-  
 ment, not only affirms in his Treatise of  
 N. 64. *Beneficiary Matters* (a Discourse fit for eve-  
 ry one to read, who wou’d be Master of  
 this Controversy) that in the Beginning the  
 Government of the Holy Church had al-  
 together a Democratical Form, but gives a  
 large Account how by degrees it came to be  
 alter’d.

60. If any thing was particularly deter-  
 min’d in Scripture, relating to Ecclesiastical  
 Government, there can be no reason to  
 imagine that the Person or Persons, who  
 shou’d have the naming of the suppos’d  
*Jure Divino* Governors of the Church, the  
 Bishops, wou’d be omitted. To say this  
 belongs to the Bishops themselves, con-  
 demns the constant Practice of the Church  
 for several of the first Centurys, when the  
 People chose ’em, and of all Princes and  
 other Laymen, who have since presum’d to  
 name them; and of all those Presbyters who  
 in their several Chapters have chosen their  
 Bishops: and if those Elections were void,  
 as not made by a competent Power, all  
 Consecrations built on them must be so  
 too.



too. If it be said that this Right be- Chap. 4.  
 longs either to People, Prince or Presby-  
 ters, by a Divine Authority, the same Ab-  
 surdity will follow: so that there's a ne-  
 cessity of owning that the Scripture has de-  
 termin'd nothing about it; and conse-  
 quently, that of course it belongs to the  
 Partys concern'd; as every thing must,  
 which is not by some positive Text taken  
 from them.

61. If their chusing a Person to execute  
 an Ecclesiastical Office, be not sufficient to  
 give him a full Right to it; it must be ei-  
 ther because God by some positive Law has  
 declar'd none to be capable of such an  
 Office, who has not some supernatural  
 Powers or Qualifications bestow'd on him  
 by certain Ecclesiasticks; or else there must  
 be some Text produc'd, which in part de-  
 prives the People of the Power of making  
 their Ministers, and divides it between them  
 and the Clergy, where one is to chuse, and  
 t'other to approve. But,

As to the First, tho pretending to be-  
 stow such Qualifications now, be as gross a  
 Cheat as Transubstantiation it self, since  
 there's no more Change wrought in the  
 Man in the one case, than in the Bread in  
 the other; yet the making and unmaking  
 Ecclesiastical Officers wou'd still be in the  
 People, without any other Obligation upon  
 'em than to pitch on a Person who had these  
 supernatural Qualifications bestow'd on him.  
 And,

As no Text can be shown for the Se-  
 cond, so it supposes the suspending or  
 N ds.

depriving of a Clergyman cannot be done without the joint Concurrence of the Laity and Clergy; because the Power of Unmaking must be divided between them as well as the Power of Making. But if there's no ground for neither of these Pretences, the People's chusing a Person to execute an Ecclesiastical Office is sufficient to give him a Right thereunto.

62. That great Reformer and glorious Martyr, Archbishop *Cranmer* (at a Consult of the most eminent Divines of the Nation in 1540. where to avoid the Inconveniencies of verbal Disputes, they gave their Opinions in writing) affirms, "That  
 " the Ceremonys and Solemnitys us'd in  
 " admitting Bishops and Priests, are not  
 " of necessity, but only for good Order  
 " and seemly Fashion; and that there's  
 " no more Promise of God that Grace is  
 " given in committing of the Ecclesiastical  
 " than Civil Office — He that's appoint-  
 " ed to be a Bishop or Priest (between  
 " whom, he says, at first there was no distinction) " needs no Consecration by the  
 " Scripture; for Election or Appointing  
 " thereunto is sufficient. What the pro-  
 f the Se- found Mr. *Dodwell* says, agrees very well  
 wat. of with this; " That as only the Society it  
 burches, " self can make a valid Conveyance of  
 . 511, " its Right, so 'tis not conceivable how  
 22, 523. " the Society can do it but by its own  
 " Act: and whensoever a Person is in-  
 " vested with Supreme Power, it must  
 " be by them, unless by his Predecessor,  
 " which no Society can depend on for a  
 " con-

“ constant Rule of Succession. I am apt Chap. 4  
“ to think this must have been the way  
“ observ’d at first in making Bishops:  
“ This seems best to agree with the Abso-  
“ luteness of particular Churches, before  
“ they had by Compact united themselves  
“ under Metropolitans and Exarchs into  
“ Provincial and Diocesan Churches. And  
“ this seem’d to be fitted to the frequent  
“ Persecutions of those earlier Ages, when  
“ every Church was able to secure its own  
“ Succession, without depending on the  
“ Meeting of the Bishops of the whole  
“ Province; and the Alteration of this, in  
“ giving the Bishops of the Province an  
“ Interest in the Choice of every particu-  
“ lar Colleague, seems not to have been for  
“ want of Power in the particular Chur-  
“ ches to do it, &c. This is a sufficient  
Acknowledgment that Bishops may be made  
without the Consecration or Concurrence  
of any Bishop; since every particular  
Church had at first a Right of making its  
own Bishop, or, as he terms it, of secu-  
ring its own Succession; and that whatever  
Right the Bishops of the Province came to  
have afterwards, was deriv’d from the  
Consent of particular Congregations or  
Churches; and that it was to their Com-  
pacts that Diocesan Episcopacy owed its  
Being.



## C H A P. V.

*The Clergy's endeavouring at an Independent Power, not only prevents the further spreading of the Gospel, but is the Cause of its having already lost so much Ground.*

1. **N**OTHING can give Unbelieving Princes a greater Prejudice against the Christian Religion, than that if it prevails, they must become subject either to Strangers or to their own Subjects, not only in all things they please to call Ecclesiastical, Spiritual or Sacred, but indirectly, & *in ordine ad Spiritualia*, in all matters whatsoever. Princes are naturally very jealous of new Doctrines, lest they create Disturbances, or any ways diminish their Prerogative; and consequently must needs be enrag'd, when they find their Power so much straitned and limited by a new Religion: and presently conclude those Impostors who preach it, since they design to get for themselves no less than an Independent Power over them.

2. 'Tis no wonder therefore that several Nations who at first tolerated Christianity, did afterward, when they found what the Clergy

Clergy aim'd at, extirpate it with Fire and Chap. 5.  
Sword; tho at the same time they allow'd  
of other Religions every whit as different  
from theirs: Nor cou'd the Romish Priests,  
the only Persons who make it their business  
to convert Infidels, expect any where better  
Treatment, did they not at first dissemble  
(at which they are very dextrous) this part  
of their Doctrines.

3. Had those who first propagated the  
Christian Religion, made such a selfish  
Scheme of it, as that it exalted 'em from  
the meanest Condition, to be no less than  
Ecclesiastical Monarchs; and that it gave  
them, and whomsoever they laid hands on,  
an Independent Power over the whole  
World in all things they pleas'd to de-  
clare of an Ecclesiastical nature; and that  
they had a Power to punish whom they  
thought fit, not only in this Life, by ob-  
liging People to avoid all Converse with  
'em (a thing insupportable to human Na-  
ture) but in the next with eternal Torments,  
nothing less than that being the Effects of  
their Excommunication: Had they, I say,  
pretended to such Powers, instead of gain-  
ing Profelytes, they wou'd have been look'd  
on as impudent Cheats and Impostors.  
But where do we find, they ever told  
the Emperors, that, tho it were true, till  
the Times of Christianity there were not  
two Independent Powers in the same So-  
ciety, yet that God, the Immutable God,  
was then pleas'd to change his Mind, and  
made the Emperors, as well as the People,  
absolute Slaves to those who before were  
their

their own Subjects, in all things which they, the sole Judges, shou'd determine to be of an Ecclesiastical nature; who having their Power only from God, without the Intervention of the People or of their Representatives, cou'd be accountable for the Abuse of it to God alone; and that therefore it was not lawful for the Roman Emperor, tho he shou'd become a Christian, and so employ his Power aright, to retain the Title, much less the Office of *Pontifex Maximus*, but must resign that to the Bishop of *Rome*, or some other Priest? Had, I say, this Doctrine of *Imperium in Imperio* been the Product of Christianity, the Emperors cou'd not have fail'd to use it as an Argument to justify their Usage of the Christians, who were for a double-headed Sovereignty, unknown before in the World, and inconsistent with the Power, which they and the Commonwealth ever since its Foundation had enjoy'd. And the Hea-then Authors wou'd have eternally insulted the Christians on this Point; who, had the thing been true, cou'd not be so wanting to themselves, as to neglect offering at something in their frequent Apologys for their Justification. But on the contrary, *Tertullian* in his Apology declares, agreeable to the sense of Mankind, that 'tis the *Nature of the Supreme to admit of no Equal*.

4. Besides, with what face, upon this Supposition, cou'd the Christians have asserted the Disinterestedness of those who first preach'd the Gospel, as a grand Argument



ment for the Truth of it? or how cou'd Chap. 5.  
they have added, That those who suc-  
ceeded 'em, as having no Temporal Advan-  
tage to carry on by it, ought to be look'd  
on as competent Witnesses, when they  
suppos'd it gave 'em such Powers, Juris-  
dictions, Honours, Privileges, Preeminen-  
ces? &c.

To instance only in one Particular of  
their Claims, and that a small one in com-  
parison of the rest, and which I have not  
yet mention'd, *viz.* their having a Right to  
the Tenth Part not only of Mens Lands, but  
what far exceeds it, of the Product of their  
Labour and Industry: which, considering  
what the neat Produce in every Nation  
amounts to, must have given 'em immense  
Riches, and consequently wou'd not on-  
ly have spoil'd their Plea of Disinte-  
restedness, but made both Emperors and  
People see, that Christ's Kingdom, not-  
withstanding his Disciples pretended the  
contrary, was of this World; and that he  
made a great Alteration in Mens Civil Pro-  
perties, not only by depriving 'em of the  
Right they had by the Law of Nature,  
of judging what was most convenient for the  
Support of their Ecclesiasticks, but of the  
Tenth of all their Estates; nay, which is  
more, what the Clergy wou'd please to call  
so, since these being of an Ecclesiastical na-  
ture, and Spiritual things, must belong to  
their Cognizance.

5. The greatest Glory Mortals are capa-  
ble of, is to be thought the peculiar Favo-  
rites of Heaven, and to hold Communica-

tion with God, and to be authoriz'd by him to promulgate his Will to the whole World; for then they are to be hearken'd to by all Mankind with the same Submission and Deference as God himself is: since 'tis He who speaks in them, and what they declare is no less than the Dictates of his Infallible Spirit. Therefore 'tis no wonder that in all Ages some have set up for Prophets, and pretended to Divine Dreams, Visions, and Revelations. But if the Revelation be such that it gives the Revealers Power and Jurisdiction, independent of any but God himself, in all things they are pleas'd to term Spiritual; how can it be said that these Revealers are disinterested, or that they, who wou'd be thought to receive this Power from them, are competent Witnesses? when no Court of Judicature allows those who have such Interest, in any Case to give their Testimony. And certainly the Evidence ought to be as disinterested in a Cause of this consequence, as in any of less moment.

6. Mens suffering for such Opinions is not sufficient to support the Weight of 'em. For do we not daily see People in Duels run the hazard of Death, nay of Damnation too, for a mistaken Point of Honour, or a mere Punctilio? And Women in the *Indies*, notwithstanding the Discouragement they meet with from the Government, voluntarily leap into those Flames which consume their dead Husbands Bodys. And have not even Atheists, such as *Varinus* and *Effendi*, dy'd Martyrs for their

their Opinions; or, more properly speaking, Chap. 5.  
rather than be thought capable of so much Weakness, as for the sake of their Lives to disown what they made the World believe they thought a Truth? Therefore we may conclude, that 'tis not impossible but some Men, tho less ambitious than *Empedocles* (who threw himself, as 'tis said, into a burning Mountain, to be esteem'd a God after his Death) will venture any thing to be reverenc'd as Gods while alive, especially when so much Power is join'd with the Honour: And when the dazzling Prospect has once engag'd Men in such an Affair as this, they will die a thousand times, rather than own themselves Cheats and Impostors.

7. What Archbishop *Tillotson* says of Transubstantiation, That 'tis a Millstone hung about the Neck of Popery, which will sink it at last, I will not apply to this Independent Power with relation to Christianity, and say it is a Burden even too great for That to support: But this I may affirm, that the Priests, by hanging about the Neck of it such a heavy and monstrous Weight, do the most that in them lies to sink it. For,

It not only prejudices all Infidels against Christianity, but is the chief reason that no small Number have left it, contenting themselves with Natural Religion, as the Ingenious Author of the *Growth of Deism* justly observes.

8. And the Bishop of *Sarum* says, *Pref. to his Pastoral Care.*  
“ That he having had much free Conversation  
“ tion



" tion with many who have been fatally  
 " corrupted that way (to a Disbelief of  
 " all reveal'd Religion) they have very  
 " often own'd to him, That nothing pro-  
 " moted this so much in them, as the very  
 " bad Opinion which they took up of all  
 " Clergymen on all sides; who tho for  
 " carrying on of their own Authority or  
 " Fortunes, seem'd to be very positive in  
 " affirming the Truth of their Doctrines,  
 " yet in their Hearts they did not believe  
 " 'em, since they liv'd so little suitably to  
 " 'em, and were so much set on raising  
 " themselves by 'em. And that this is the  
 great stumbling Block to Unbelievers, the  
 most learned and most discerning Mr. *Le*  
*Clerc* has fully and to the life shown in his  
*Treatise of the Causes of Infidelity*. And  
 'tis remarkable, that the higher the Priests  
 of *Rome* (to say nothing of those of other  
 Sects) carry those Points, the less they  
 show of Religion in their Lives and Con-  
 versation, and gratify themselves not only  
 in the Lust of Power, and Pride of Domi-  
 nion, but in all other Passions: and their  
 whole Lives seem to give one continu'd Lie  
 to the Doctrine they teach; which is e-  
 nough, if Men are not well settl'd in their  
 Principles, to make millions of Infidels,  
 unless they reason like the converted Jew,  
 that the Christian Religion must be the Fa-  
 vourite of Heaven, since the scandalous  
 Lives of its chief Professors have not con-  
 founded it long since.

9. And I think I may add, that this In-  
 dependent Power was the chief Occasion,  
 that

that Christianity, lost so many fair Provin- Chap. 5.  
ces it once possess'd: For nothing can be  
plainer than that all the numberless Dis-  
orders, Tumults, Commotions, Wars,  
Persecutions, Massacres, &c. which have  
happen'd to Christians on the pretence of  
Religion, are wholly owing to the Clergy's  
requiring a blind Submission to their De-  
crees in order to advance this Power. And  
'tis as plain, that these so weaken'd the Ro-  
man Empire, by ruining and destroying  
great Numbers, and by discouraging and  
disheartning of more (none being sure that  
it might not be his turn to be persecuted,  
if the Emperor happen'd to be influenc'd  
by Clergymen of a different Persuasion)  
that it became an easy Prey to the bar-  
barous Nations; and made the Conquer'd  
submit to the Religion of the Conquerors,  
where they cou'd not see more Absurdity  
than the Clergy for the sake of their Inte-  
rest had brought into Christianity. And  
the Ambition of the Bishops in continually  
fighting against one another for Dominion,  
with their pretended Spiritual Weapons of  
Anathemas and Excommunications, did not  
a little contribute to it; since that gave in-  
finite Scandal, and so distracted *Christendom*,  
that too many were ready for any Change.  
Without this, so senseless a Religion as that  
of the *Alcoran* cou'd never have taken such  
deep Root, or spread it self so far and wide  
in so short a time.

10. 'Tis very remarkable, and helps to  
confirm this Assertion, what Dr. *Geddes*  
observes in his *History of the Expulsion of*  
the

the Moriscoes out of Spain, That most of the Mahometans, so very numerous there, were the Descendents of apostatiz'd Christians; and that in the City of *Granada* and the Kingdom of *Arragon* only, of 200000 Mahometans (as *John King of Arragon* affirms in a Letter to the Council of *Vien* in 1311.) there were not above five hundred not thus descended. And yet this mighty Change, the Christians enjoying Liberty of Conscience, was not owing to Compulsion. But when *Spain* was conquer'd by the Christians, notwithstanding they spar'd neither fair nor foul means, They cou'd not, as he observes, make one real Convert among the *Moors*. Such an Aversion had the Corruptions introduc'd by the Clergy caus'd in those Infidels, tho descended from Christian Ancestors, against the Christian Religion.

III. As this Independent Power occasion'd *Mahometism* in the *East*, so it produc'd *Popery* in the *West*, which tho it still retains the name of Christianity, is yet a greater Corruption of it; which at the time of the Reformation had been everywhere intirely extirpated, if too many of the Protestant Clergy (who at first disown'd any Independent Power, and thereby very much contributed to the Encouragement they receiv'd from Princes as well as People), had not put a stop to it by claiming (the Presbyterians leading the Van) such a Power themselves. This made Princes begin to think it not only more honourable, but less hazardous (as *procul a Jove, procul a Fulmine*)



mine) to submit to the *Western Patriarch* then not a little humbl'd,—and living at such a distance as *Rome*, than to let their own Subjects become their Ecclesiastical Sovereigns; who, as being nearer at hand, might not only be more troublesom, but by degrees, having better Opportunities, carry their Power further than the Popes themselves did; since they cou'd scarce claim any, tho ever so extravagant, which this Doctrine wou'd not justify.

12. In a word, if Love, Charity, Meekness, Benevolence, Moderation, Condescension, and such like Virtues, be essential to a Christian Church, I shou'd be glad to see a Church even among the Reform'd, where these are not in a great measure destroy'd by the Hatred and Animosity the Clergy have sown, and the Feuds, Quarrels and Persecutions they have occasion'd about their Independent Ecclesiastical Power. But more of this in the next Chapter.

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And there's no Notion to shroud but what's their Interest to advance, tho it seems to have no direct tendency that way; much when

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

That the Clergy's claiming an Independent Power is of all Things the most destructive to the Interest of Religion, and is the Cause of those Corruptions under which Christianity labours.

IT is absolutely necessary, for the preservation of Religion in its Purity and Simplicity, that all the Power Man is capable of, shou'd belong to the Laity, because they can have no Motive, no Temptation to abuse it, by corrupting Religion, to advance their Temporal Interest: since every Deviation from it (That being design'd to secure and promote the Happiness of Human Societys) must be to their detriment; and consequently their Temporal Interest obliges 'em to take care, that Religion be preserv'd in its native Purity and Simplicity.

2. But 'tis the Clergy's Interest on the contrary to have it corrupted; because they, as such, have no other way to gain a Power of Lording it over their Brethren. And there's no Notion so absurd but what's their Interest to advance, tho it seems to have no direct tendency that way; since, when

when once believ'd, it will serve to draw on others which have. Let Reason be baffled in one point, and you can never plead her Sovereignty in another: *Uno absurdo dato, mille sequuntur.* And a Rational Religion will not make Men depend much on the Authority of the Priests; because themselves can judg of that by its own Evidence. But the more Unaccountable, Uncertain, Obscure, Perplex'd, and Unintelligible Religion is, the more 'tis above their Understanding and Capacity, and the more they must pay a blind Deference and Submission to the Dictates of the Priests. And therefore 'tis no wonder, if Religion has been more or less confounded, as they have been more or less trusted with Power: And 'tis naturally impossible it shou'd be otherwise; since to be sure, some will be always attempting, tho' ever so much to the prejudice of Religion, to introduce such Opinions as are for their Interest, and serve to render their Persons sacred, and raise their Characters; which Opinions need not very strong Arguments to go down with the Generality of 'em; and those who oppos'd 'em (as some at first might) wou'd not do it very heartily, and tho' they did, must quickly be overpower'd: and consequently such Opinions must by degrees become current among the Clergy; which then they will not scruple to impose on the People by their own Authority, especially when assembled in a Synod; for then 'tis only Excommunicating and Anathematizing all such as shall presume to speak against their

Deter-



Determinations, and (if they are so favourable to let the Persons escape) judicially condemning their Adversarys Writings to the Flames, as the most expeditious way of confuting 'em.

3. And this certainly is no more than what they ought to do, if they have a Right to oblige People to submit to their Determinations in all disputable Points, which in effect is in all: for if the Laity swallow what they impose, they have their End; but if they question and dispute it, then that very thing gives 'em a Right to decide it; since it belongs to Them, in all disputable Points, to judg for the People.

And this all Councils and Synods in fact do, when they determine Controversys, and oblige People to submit to whatever Side they declare for; so that by this means *Interest becomes the Father of Religion, and Ignorance (the Consequence of an implicit Submission) the Mother of Devotion.* But,

4. What a Folly and Madnes is it, to take the Clergy's word in Things relating to their own Power and Jurisdiction; and suffer 'em to judg in their own Cause, and decide where their own Interest is concern'd, as they must if they are Judges in Matters of Religion? Then to be sure, their own Independent Power shall be a fundamental Article.

There never was a Council, since the times of the Apostolick Purity, that has not determin'd something or other in pre-judice

Judice of the true Religion, which was corrupted proportionably to the frequency of Synods; where no Doctrine, tho ever so absurd, and which Men singly perhaps wou'd have been asham'd to maintain, was not long boggl'd at, provided it was sufficiently adapted to their Interest; witness all the Popish Tenets, so very unaccountable, that the Clergy, except they had been assembl'd in Council, where Numbers countenance one another, and where they have the Pretence of the Spirit to sanctify whatever they do, durst not have attempted to impose them on the People.

5. 'Tis no wonder that the Clergy magnify Synods at so great a rate, since there were no Doctrines which advanc'd the Power Ecclesiastical, or created a Reverence to the Clergy, the Contradiction whereof was not made Heresy by some Council or other, and the Emperors oblig'd to punish the Hereticks with Death or Banishment. And at last it came to that pass, that Princes and States, unless they purg'd their Dominions of all the Clergy call'd Hereticks, were excommunicated and interdicted, and their Subjects let loose upon 'em: Insomuch that to a serious and considering Person there was nothing so dangerous as to enquire concerning his own Salvation of the Holy Scripture; the careless cold Christian was safe, and the skilful Hypocrite a Saint.

6. If any think this partial, let 'em only consider, That the greatest part of Mankind, in their several Callings and Profes-

sions,

sions, are too apt to prefer their private Interest before any Motive whatsoever, especially when they act in Bodys: for then Reputation and Honour, Shame and Disgrace, which frequently influence single Persons, quite lose their Force; and no Good can be expected from 'em, where the publick Interest and their own are not the same. And consequently, what can be hop'd from Assemblys of Priests, whose private Interest, as it is dimetrically opposite to that of the People, so their Synods have been, generally speaking, compos'd of the most Ambitious, the most Crafty, and most Designing, better vers'd in the Arts of Flattering and Fawning on great Men, than in the Knowledg of Religion?

7. By the account the Orthodox give of the many *Arian* Councils, one wou'd think they were speaking of Devils and not of Men; and by what remains of the *Arian* Writers, 'tis plain they are not behind with the others.

But there's no need of having recourse to them; for the most partial Historians of their own side give such a Relation of their Conduct (too notorious it seems to be conceal'd, and too foul to be disguis'd) as makes 'em appear not much better.

8. That 'tis possible for Councils to act after this manner, we have the Confession of an *English* Synod, who acknowledg, as *H. of H.* taught by Experience, " That there is not, I. 417. " nor can be any thing in the World more " pestilent or pernicious to the Common-  
" wealth



“ wealth of *Christendom*, or whereby the Chap. 6.  
 “ Truth of God’s Word hath in times  
 “ past, or hereafter may be sooner de-  
 “ fac’d and subverted, or whereof may  
 “ ensue more Contention or Discord, or  
 “ other Devillish Effects, than when Ge-  
 “ neral Councils have, or shall hereafter  
 “ be assembled, not Christianly nor Cha-  
 “ ritably, but for and upon private Malice  
 “ and Ambition, or other worldly or car-  
 “ nal Considerations.

And this Opinion they confirm by the  
 Authority of *St. Gregory Nazianzen*, who  
 in his Letter to *Procopius* tells him, Tom. 1.  
 “ That he fled all Assemblys of Bishops, Ep. 42.  
 “ because he never saw a good and happy  
 “ End of any Council, but that they did  
 “ rather increase than lessen the Evil; that  
 “ the Love of Contention and Ambition  
 “ always overcomes their Reason. *Nazi-*  
*anzen*’s Judgment is the more to be regard-  
 ed, because ’twas the Result of frequent  
 Trial and long Experience; for he had  
 been at several Councils, particularly at the  
 General and Creed-making one of *Constan-*  
*tinople*.

And that this was his fixt Opinion, is  
 plain from his so very frequently repeating  
 it, as he does in several of his Letters, Letter 71,  
 and in his Poetick Pieces, where he again 72, 74.  
 declares his Resolution “ of never going to Pag. 80.  
 “ any Council, because nothing is to be  
 “ heard there but Geese and Cranes, who  
 “ fight without understanding one ano-  
 “ ther. There one may see Divisions,  
 “ Quarrels, and shameful Things, which  
 O 2 “ were

“ were hid before, and are collected into  
 “ one place with cruel Men.

*Historical  
 Essay of  
 Councils,  
 &c.*

9. If there ever was a Council which acted upon other Principles, there is little doubt it was the First and Oecumenical one of *Nice*: “ Which yet, as Mr. *Marvel* justly observes, “ was a pitiful “ human Business, attended with all the “ ill Circumstances of other worldly Affairs, conducted by a Spirit of Ambition and Contention; the first, and so “ the greatest Oecumenical Blow, that by “ Christians was given to Christians. It “ was, says he, their Imposition of a new, “ Article or Creed upon the Christian “ World, not being contain’d in express “ Words of Scripture, to be believ’d “ with Divine Faith, under Spiritual and “ Civil Penalties, contrary to the Privileges of Religion; and their making a “ Precedent, follow’d and improv’d by all “ succeeding Ages, for most cruel Persecutions, which only cou’d animate me. “ In digging thus for a new Deduction, “ they undermin’d the Fabrick of Christianity: To frame a particular Doctrine, “ they departed from the general Rule of “ their Religion, and violated our Saviour’s “ first Institution of a Church, not subject “ to any Additions in matters of Faith, “ nor liable to Compulsion.

10. To which may be added, That the Doctrine of those Fathers was not, that there’s only one Divine Essence in Number, but in Kind; as is most evident from *Petavins, Curcellens, Cudworth, Le Clerc,*  
 Dr.

Dr. Bull, and several others; and In a Chap. 6. word, the same which the Heads of the University of Oxford not long since condemn'd as False, Impious and Heretical. Tho this must be said for that Synod, that in all probability they had not declar'd themselves of this Opinion, had they not been closeted by the Emperor; who, as Eusebius says, confer'd with them apart, courteously and mildly telling 'em what was his own Opinion of the Matter, after he had patiently listen'd to every one, and took every one's Opinion without the Acrimony with which it was deliver'd; helping each Party where they disagreed, and reconciling 'em by degrees, when they were in the fiercest Contention. And in all likelihood, the great Pains he took both in publick and private to bring 'em to his Sentiments (not to mention the noble Entertainment he gave 'em all the while) had no small Influence upon 'em. And this ought the rather to be believ'd, because when left to themselves, they were of a different Opinion; as at the Synod of *Bythinia*, held some time before the Council of *Nice*, and at *Antioch* in the year 329. and at *Tyre* 334. where no small number of Bishops from *Egypt*, *Lybia*, *Asia* and *Europe*, were assembl'd. And with these agreed the Bishops who met at *Jerusalem*, and afterward at *Constantinople*, where they were preparing a Council to examine afresh the Matter agitated at *Nice*; and had appointed a Day to discourse of it, and to conduct *Arius* into the Church, having before depos'd *Athanasius*, and

Lib. 3. cap.  
13. de vit.  
Constant.



caus'd the Emperor to banish him to *Treves*.

If the *Nicene* Fathers did not subscribe the Creed out of Complement to the Emperor, but because they understood what they did; what made them fall so foul upon one another about the meaning of it, particularly of the word *Consubstantial*? Whose Quarrels, the Historian says, did not ill resemble a Combat in the dark, where they bespatter'd one another with Calumnys, whether they had cause or not.

Socrates,

l. 1. c. 23.

11. But were this so or no, 'tis certain they gave up their Creed not long after; and at the Council of *Ariminum* (double in number to that of *Nice*) they all sign'd the *Arian* Confession; so much did they value their Bishopricks above their Faith: tho at *Nice* there were seventeen who took a contrary Method, and chose rather to part with their Preferments than Consciences. Which, considering their Conduct in those days, seems to be almost Incredible: for tho they were most obstinate as to Power, they were most flexible as to Faith, and in their Councils complemented the Emperors with whatsoever Creeds they had a mind to, and never scrupl'd to recant what they had before enacted, or to re-enact what before they had recanted. Nay, so very variable were they, that St. *Hilary* Bishop of *Poitiers* says (as Mr. *Marvel* observes) " That since the *Nicene* Synod we do nothing but write Creeds; " that while we fight about Words, while " we raise Questions about Novelty, while " we

“ we quarrel about things doubtful, and Chap. 6.  
 “ about Authors, while we contend in Par-  
 “ tys, there’s almost none that’s Christ’s.  
 “ We decree every year of the Lord a new  
 “ Creed concerning God; nay, every  
 “ Change of the Moon our Faith is al-  
 “ ter’d. We repent of our Decrees, we  
 “ defend those who have repented of them;  
 “ we anathematize those we defended: or  
 “ while we condemn other Mens Opinions  
 “ in our own, or our own in those of other  
 “ Men, and bite at one another, we are all  
 “ of us torn to pieces.

12. Mr. *Le Clerc*, than whom there ne-  
 ver was a more impartial or abler Judg,  
 gives us a short yet lively picture of these  
 times: “ Weak Princes, as far from being  
 “ Good as Wise, assembl’d a pack of pal-  
 “ try *Greeks*, who had spent their Lives  
 “ in the Art of Cavilling about Words,  
 “ without the least knowledg in Things;  
 “ so very fond of wrangling, that they  
 “ were eternally in Feuds among them-  
 “ selves. To these were added some few  
 “ from the *West*, more stupid and ignorant  
 “ indeed, but not a whit more honest;  
 “ who after much scandalous Quarrelling,  
 “ did at last by their own Authority esta-  
 “ blish certain unintelligible Propositions,  
 “ in such Terms as were for the most  
 “ part very improper, which the Vulgar  
 “ implicitly reverenc’d as most Heavenly  
 “ Truths. This, as severe as it seems,  
 is softer than what the great *Episcopus*  
 says of those Councils, that they were  
 led on by *Fury, Faction and Madness*. And

Rule of  
Faith, p.  
4. §. 4.

what Dr. Tillotson says of that Council which the Papists call the seventh General One, *That if a General Council of Atheists had met together, with a Design to abuse Religion, by talking ridiculously concerning it, they cou'd not have done it more effectually,* may be apply'd not to a few other Councils even long before that time.

13. I have been the longer on this point, because some Men think they cannot pay too great a difference to the Authority of the Holy Synods of those times; tho in truth there's scarce any thing (as the judicious Dr. Wake observes) in Antiquity,

Authority  
of Christ.  
Princes,  
p. 397.

“ which either more expos'd our Christian  
“ Profession heretofore, or may more de-  
“ serve our serious Consideration at this  
“ day, than the Violence, the Passion, the  
“ Malice, the Falseness, and the Oppres-  
“ sion, which reign'd in most of those Sy-  
“ nods held by *Constantine* first, and after  
“ him by the following Emperors, upon  
“ the occasion of the *Arian* Controversy.  
“ Bitter are the Complaints which we are  
“ told that great Emperor made of them.

Sozomen,  
l. 2. c. 28.

“ The Barbarians, says he in a Letter to  
“ one of them, for fear of us, worship  
“ God; but we mind what only tends to  
“ Hatred, to Dissension, in one word, to  
“ the Destruction of Mankind. And if  
“ those Accusations and Libels, which the  
“ Bishops at the Council of *Nice* gave in of  
“ one another to the Emperor, were now  
“ extant, in all probability we should have  
“ such Rolls of Scandal, that none wou'd  
“ have much reason to boast of the first Oc-  
“ cumenical



cumenical Council, where with such Heat, Chap. 6.  
 Passion and Fury, the Bishops fell foul on  
 one another; insomuch that had not the  
 Emperor by a trick burnt their *Church*  
*Memorials*, probably they must have broke  
 up in Confusion. And after that Council  
 was over, the Bishops made so great a  
 bustle and disturbance, and were so unruly,  
 that the good Emperor was forc'd to tell *Euseb. de*  
 'em, " That if they wou'd not be more *vita Con-*  
 " quiet and peaceable for the future, he *stant. p.*  
 " cou'd no longer continue his Expedition, *770.*  
 " against the Infidels, but must (a much  
 " more difficult Task) return to keep them  
 " in Order. And indeed the Confusion  
 and Disorder was so great amongst 'em, es-  
 pecially in their Synods, that it sometimes  
 came to Blows; as for instance, *Dioscorus*  
 Bishop of *Alexandria*, cuff'd and kick'd  
*Flavianus* Patriarch of *Constantinople* (at  
 the second Synod of *Ephesus*) with that  
 Fury, that within three days after he  
 dy'd (a).

14. " The Writers of the fourth and  
 " fifth Centurys, as the Bishop of (b) *Sarum*  
 acknowledges, " give us dismal Represen-  
 " tations of the Corruptions of their times;  
 " and the scandalous Inconstancy of the  
 " Councils of those Ages is too evident a

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(a) *Flavianum ad Apostolicam sedem provocan-*  
*tem Dioscorus factus ex Episcopo carnifex, tot pugnis*  
*calcibusque contundit, ut post triduum in exilio gra-*  
*vissimo plagarum dolore conflictatus obierit. L' Abb.*  
*Concil. T. 4. Col. 5.*

(b) *Exposition of the 28th Article, pag. 335.*

Proof of what we find said by the good Men of those days. But things fell lower and lower in the succeeding Ages: it was an amazing thing, in the very Office of consecrating Bishops, Examinations are order'd concerning those Crimes, the very mention of which gives Horror; *De coitu cum Masculo; & cum Quadrupedibus.*

15. If the early Councils were none of the best, those which succeeded 'em became worse, and never left undermining the Christian Religion, till by degrees they destroy'd the Essence of it, and in its place introduc'd *Popery*; which cannot be deny'd to be all Priestcraft, from the Beginning to the End: or (to make use of *Andrew Marvel's* words) "*Popery* is the most insolent Attempt upon the Credulity of Mankind; an Abstract of whatsoever is most ridiculous and impious in other Religions, incorporated with peculiar Absurditys of its own; and all this deliberately contriv'd, knowingly carry'd on by bold Imposition of Priests, and under the name of Christianity.

16. Had Councils been as frequent with Protestants, and the Clergy trusted with as much Power as among the Papists, we should in all probability have very little to object to them. And 'tis strange that Protestants, when they so evidently saw that the Christian Religion was abominably deprav'd by self-interested Persons assembled in Synods, did not forbid all such Meetings; especially since the chief pre-  
tence

tence for convening 'em seems to be Popish, Chap. 6. viz. to judg of religious Matters, not every one for himself, but (as tho Truth were to be found out by a Poll) the Majority for the whole Assembly, nay for the whole Nation: and their Business is not to convince Mens Judgments, by offering Reasons for or against Opinions (for that they might better do by Writing, without being assembl'd) but Authoritatively and Judicially to approve or condemn them, and to excommunicate those who will not submit to their Determinations.

17. Tho such Assemblies were not abolish'd in *England* upon the Reformation, and perhaps the only Reason was the Clergy's taxing themselves in Convocation; yet their Power was so curtail'd by Act of 25 H. 8.

Parliament, that they could not attempt any thing without the King's Licence first obtain'd: And whether some Attempts of late, without such a Licence, have not involv'd certain Persons in a Premunire, is not my business to inquire. And yet as much as their Power is cramp'd, no small number of the most eminent of 'em very ingenuously confess, That such Assemblies are not much for the Advantage of Religion. That the late excellent Archbishop was of this Opinion, the Author of the *Letter to the Convocation-man* will bear me

Page 8.

witness; and the present Bishops are censur'd by the High Fliers as concurring in the same Sentiments. And Dr. Wake (who by his exemplary Life shows his Zeal for Religion, and for the Church by his excellent

Dedicat, to his Appeal, &c.



Ecd. Polit.  
p. 53.

lent Defence of it against Popery in the most dangerous Times) expressly declares, " That nothing at this day preserves us " from Ruin and Desolation, but that we " (the Clergy) have not Power of our selves " to do the Church a Mischief; and the " Prince who sees too much of our Tem- " per, is too Gracious to us, and has too " great a Concern for the Church's Good, " to suffer us to do it. And this is no more than what Bishop *Parker* affirms of former Councils, in saying, " Had it not " been for Christian Princes, Christianity " in all human probability had been de- " stroy'd by its own Tumults and Sedi- " tions.

18. Had a Prince a mind to ruin a Church unperceiv'd, nay to be thank'd into the bargain, 'tis only allowing a Convocation liberty to sit as long as they please, and to make what Articles they think fit: For tho, like my Lord *Tumont's* Cocks, they might at first seem all of a side, yet no sooner can they be put together, than they will spur at one another; and, being infinitely fond of their own Conceits, frame them into Articles, and so divide and subdivide a Church till it crumbles almost into nothing. This, with their extraordinary Conduct, which the different Partys will not fail to expose to the World, will in all probability compleat its Ruin. And whether some Mens Zeal in the late Reign for the Convocation to sit and do Business, did proceed from any such Motive, I shall not determine; tho they were

were the most disaffected to the Constitu- Chap. 6.  
tion, who made the greatest noise about it. What Good can be expected from the  
Meeting of Men, " when their Passions <sup>Authority</sup>  
" are, as an Author just now cited says, <sup>of Christ.</sup>  
" let loose, and their Minds disorder'd; Princes,  
" when their Interest and Designs, their  
" Friends and their Partys, nay their very  
" Judgments and Principles lead 'em diffe-  
" rent ways, and they agree in nothing so  
" much as being very peevish and very an-  
" gry with one another; when their very  
" Reason is deprav'd, and they judg not  
" according to Truth and Evidence, but  
" with respect to Persons; and every one  
" opposes what another of a different Per-  
" suasion moves or approves of?

19. As to the Pretence of Synods being  
influenc'd by the Holy Spirit, I need only  
say, That their Conduct is a sufficient De-  
monstration to the contrary, since those  
benign Virtues which are the Product of  
that Spirit, are likelier to be found any  
where else than in such Assemblies; and  
'twou'd be strange if *Divinity* shou'd chuse  
to dwell where *Humanity* was seldom to be  
found. Can the Holy Spirit be suppos'd  
to influence Councils, which contradict  
one another so much, that there have been  
few or no Questions of any moment (ba-  
ting what they say of their own Power)  
agitated in them, which have not receiv'd  
opposite Determinations? This is so no-  
torious, that none who is the least ac-  
quainted with Church-History, but must  
with honest *Chillingworth* say, " I see plain-  
" ly,

Of the Religion of Protest.  
ch. 6. n. 56.

ly, and with my own Eycs, that there are Popes against Popes, Councils against Councils, some Fathers against others, the same Fathers against themselves, a Consent of the Fathers of one Age against the Consent of the Fathers of another Age, the Church of one Age against the Church of another Age. Is it not the way to have a Cursed Church, if the Clergy, for instance, in one Council shall curse and anathematize all who worship Images, and quickly after in another curse all who will not worship 'em? How did the Clergy curse themselves at the Council of *Calcedon* for what they did at the Council of *Ephesus*? And after that, how frequently did they declare for and against the Council of *Calcedon*, and seldom without bitterly cursing themselves? So that the Religion of the Clergy of that Age seems mostly to have consisted in Cursing: and 'tis well if it had been of that Age only, since there's scarce a Man in being, who is not under the Anathema of some Canon or other.

20. Can the Holy Spirit be suppos'd to dwell with those, who, as in the Case of *Eutyches* and *Nestorius*, for different Terms only, set the Christian World in flames, and made such a Division as remains to this very day? Tho 'tis much the last shou'd be treated as a Heretick, after his Orthodox Zeal had made him say to *Theodosius* the Younger, Give me, O Emperor, the Earth weeded from Hereticks, and I in my turn will give you Heaven; destroy  
with

Socrat.lib.  
7. c. 29.



with me the Hereticks, and I will destroy the Chap. 6.  
 Persians with you. Have not Councils been  
 either Imperial Engines or Papal Machines?  
 And had they not all along as great a De-  
 ference for those who cou'd reward 'em  
 best, as the Synod Bishop *Taylor* men-  
 tions had for their Presidents, who hav-  
 ing at the upper end pronounc'd *Damnatus*,  
 they at the lower end waking at the Noise,  
 heard the latter part of the Word, and con-  
 cur'd as far as *mnatus* went? which, says  
 he, was as good as *Damnatus*: for if they  
 had been awake at pronouncing the whole  
 Word, they wou'd have given Sentence ac-  
 cordingly.

Liberty of  
 Prophecy-  
 ing, 5. 6.

21. What can we think of the Com-  
 plaisance of a Synod at *Alexandria* to St.  
*Theophilus* their Patriarch, who not only  
 assisted the Antrhopomorphite Monks in  
 murdering all their Brethren who deny'd God  
 had a Body and Human Shape, but got this  
 Council to condemn *Origen*, who held the  
 contrary Opinion, 200 years after his death?  
 and all this contrary to his own Senti-  
 ments, only to gratify his Malice on some  
 innocent Monks who never did him the  
 least Injury. So that Men are not always  
 condemn'd for the sake of Opinions, but  
 Opinions sometimes for the sake of Men,  
 and possibly much oftner than is imagin'd:  
 and there's no small Party now who have  
 conceiv'd such an Antipathy to a certain  
 Bishop, that in all probability they wou'd  
 not scruple to condemn him, tho he had  
 made the Articles, instead of writing an  
 Exposition upon them.

Socrat. lib.  
 6. c. 7, 8.

22. If Councils had been govern'd by the Holy Spirit, the more they were left to themselves, the less Disorder and Confusion wou'd happen amongst 'em: but the *History of the Pope's dom.* *Sieur Puffendorf* among others says, " That the Direction and Presidentship of Ecclesiastical Assemblies must belong to the Magistrate, that extravagant Heats and immoderate Passions may be abated; and Matters not stretch'd too far, out of a Fondness of Contradiction; nor any one by a malicious Interpretation of his Words or Opinions fall into Slanders or Censures: and that the first Christian Emperors, in not exercising this their Right, occasion'd great Confusion in some Councils. But the eternal Wragling of the Bishops was sufficient to fright more patient Persons than the Emperors or their Deputys from attending on that Affair; and therefore 'twas not strange that *Leonas*, who represented the Emperor *Constans*, bid the Bishops, upon their desiring him to return to the Assembly, go prate and trifle in the Church without him.

*Socrat. lib. 2. c. 48.*

*Adrian's Epist. of the old Canons publish'd by Canesius.*

23. To say all on this Head which cou'd be said, wou'd be to write a History of Councils, and transcribe their Canons; one of which is, That no Man ought to receive the Testimony of a Layman against a Clergyman. I cou'd not say less, since even among those who in words deny the Infallibility of Councils, there are too many who in fact own it, by endeavouring to impose on us things which have no Foundation

tion either in Scripture or Reason, nay are Chap. 6.  
 sometimes contrary to both, on their bare Authority; which serv'd formerly as an Answer to all Objections. It was this made *Socrates* say, That tho' the Fathers at Nice Eccl. Hist. were as simple and ignorant as the Bishop of Heraclea represented 'em; yet being guided by the Light of Grace, they cou'd not depart from Truth: and the Monks at Jerusalem in the Reign of *Anastasius Dicorus* declare, " That Eccl. Hist. " the four Councils were to be join'd with l. 16. c. 33. " the Sacred Books; and they pronounce " an Anathema against all who equal 'em " not with the four Evangelists; and tell " the Emperor, that for that cause they " will contend even to Blood.

24. How shall we know which Side the Holy Ghost chuses; when Councils compos'd, as with us, of distinct Bodys, differ among themselves? And such a Question may properly enough be ask'd, since we have no reason to think that Synods now are not as much guided by the Light of Grace as formerly: For tho' the Clergy at present, for Reasons obvious enough, extol the Councils of antient Times above any now-a-days in this degenerate Age of the Church, as they call it; yet he who considers one as well as t'other; will see little Reason for this mighty Preference, and upon the whole be induc'd to think that tho' Religion may have undergone a great many Changes, yet the Spirit and Temper of the Clergy, whether in or out of Convocations, generally speaking, is to their immortal Honour still the same.



Of the true  
Grounds of  
Eccles. Re-  
gimen, p.  
84.

25. A Learned and Judicious Author says, " It was not unnatural in the Beginnings of the Reign of *Edward VI.* and *Queen Elizabeth*, to think the Lords and Commons were better Judges of Religion than the Bishops and Convocation-house. And the Reason he gives for it is, " That the whole Body can have no sinister End or Interest to blind 'em; but the whole Clergy, which is but a Part of the whole Body, may: and therefore the whole Body is to judg of this. But this Reason will make the Parliament, not only then but always, better Judges of Religion. Nay, what he adds, will make the meanest Layman as good a Judg as the greatest Priest: for he says, " the meanest Man is as much interested and concern'd in the Truth of Religion, as the greatest Priest; for tho his Knowledg thereof be not in all respects equally easy, yet in some respects it may be easier. For want of Learning does not so much hinder the Light of the Layman, as worldly Advantage and Faction sometimes does the Priests; and the Examples of these are infinite (which shows 'tis more than sometimes) " Corruption in the Church before our Saviour, and in our Saviour's Days and ever since, has oftner begun among the greatest Priests, Rabbies and Bishops, than among the meanest Laity.

26. To this let me add, that had Synods been compos'd of Laymen, none of those Corruptions which favour of Priestcraft, and

and tend to advance the Interest of the Clergy, and to depress that of the People, wou'd have been brought into the Church. And what Depravation is there establish'd in any Church whatsoever, which does not do this, either directly or indirectly, immediately or mediately? And what other Reason is there why the Church of *England* is so pure, than that the Laity had the chief hand in Reforming it?

27. As the Clergy, tho few in comparison of the Laity, were the Inventers, Contrivers, and first Broachers of Corruptions; so on the contrary, wheresoever any Re-formations have happen'd, they have been carry'd on by the Laity in opposition to the Body of the Clergy: For tho perhaps there were here and there a few so honest as to prefer the Truth before their Interest; yet the Majority of the Clergy have always been against all Alterations for the better. And if a Man examines the State of *Christendom*, he will find that the more they have in any Nation abounded in Number, Power, and Riches, the more Religion has been deprav'd; and on the contrary, the less Power and Riches they have had, and the fewer their Numbers have been, the more it has been preserv'd pure and intire: as if to keep it so, nothing more had been requir'd, than not to allow the Priests sufficient Means to corrupt it.

What other Reason can be assign'd why Religion is in some Popish Countrys more perverted than in others, than that the

Number, Power and Riches of the Clergy are greater there? And this you will find visibly true, in comparing 'em one with another.

28. And as there is a vast Disproportion in these respects between the Popish and Protestant Clergy, so Religion in the last is proportionably purer. And will not the same hold in comparing Protestant Countrys one with another? For can it be deny'd, that where the Power, Interest, and Authority of the Clergy is at the lowest ebb, there is not only less of those Diabolical Vices, Hatred, Malice, Animosity, Persecution, &c. and in the room of these, more of the Angelical Virtues of Love, Charity, Friendship, Benignity, &c. but Men are less Immoral, Leud, Vicious, Debauch'd, and Irreligious; and have more of Sobriety, Frugality, Industry, and all other moral and social Virtues?

29. And 'tis no wonder, because too many, in order to advance their Interest, teach Men to lay so much stress on things which no ways influence a good Life; to which Impertinences the more regard Men have, the less they attend the Dutys of Morality: and therefore the great Neglect of it among the Heathens as well as Christians, must be imputed to their Priests, in persuading 'em to place Religion in Rites, Shows, Ceremonys, and other indifferent Things; which since Men can practise without controuling their darling Passions, they will be sure religiously to observe, to make amends for indulging  
 † them.



themselves in their beloved Vices, especially if they are persuaded such things are expiatory of Sins: and therefore the most Superstitious Nations have always been the most Immoral. And one wou'd think they had no other Notion of Religion than that it was, as defin'd by a late Author, *An Expedient which Men had found out to satisfy themselves that God was satisfy'd with them, tho' they neglected the common and plain Dutys of Morality.*

30. And if it were not so now-a-days with too many, what's the reason, that if a Man, tho' ever so vicious, be but a great Stickler for the Church in fashion, that good Quality alone shall (like Charity) not only hide a multitude of Faults, but too often sanctify the greatest Villanys and Impiety's? Therefore your immoral Men seldom fail to pretend a great Zeal for the Church, to atone for their real Enmity to Religion: And 'tis not strange, that Men under Persecution cou'd not forbear complaining, that they had not so much Liberty to serve *God*, as the Church's Friends had to serve the *Devil*.

31. 'Tis Sir *William Temple's* Observation, That Religion, or rather the Pretence to it, does the least mischief in *Holland*; and the reason is, because the Clergy have less Power and Authority there, than any where else: Tho' even there, when they had an Influence on the People, and the States were guilty of so much Imprudence as to call a Synod at *Dort*, then Bitterness, Rancor and Malice were infus'd into

mens Minds, and by consequence Disorders and Tumults did abound, which had like to have intirely subverted their Libertys: but by their suffering no more Synods, and carrying a strict hand over their Clergy, these by degrees wore off; (nothing being found more effectual to keep a pragmatistical Priest within some bounds, than the apprehension of having a Staff and a pair of Shoos laid at his door) So that now more Charity and Candour is to be found among Persons of different Persuasions there, than any where besides.

32. The Synod of *Dort*, tho call'd before the Spirit of Reformation ran so low, shows what little Good is to be expected from such Meetings of Clergymen; since it only serv'd to increase the Uncharitableness, Animositys, and other Mischiefs it was call'd to prevent.

And as the great Schism about the Predestinarian Points, which has caus'd so much Mischief in the *United Provinces*, and which was made use of by some Men as a Handle to do more here, was wholly owing to that Imposing Synod; so all other Divisions on the account of Difference in Opinions, which go under the name of Schisms and Heresys, flow from the same Cause, the Clergy's putting themselves in the place of God, and requiring the same Faith to their uncertain Inferences and dubious Conclusions, as to the Divine Word it self. But,

33: To look at home, nothing made so much way for the Reformation, as *Henry VIII's* depriving the Clergy of so great a Part of their Power and Riches. For as it was their abounding in these which enabled 'em to corrupt Religion, so it was their being stript of them, which disabled 'em from continuing the Corruptions, or opposing the Lay-Reformation. Chap. 6.

Mr. *Fox* very justly observes, " That P. 976.  
 " shortly after the Overthrow of the  
 " Pope, begun by little and little the  
 " Ruin of Abbys and Religious Houses in  
 " *England*, in a right Order and Method,  
 " by God's Providence: for neither cou'd  
 " the Fall of Monasterys have follow'd af-  
 " ter, unless the Suppression of the Pope  
 " had gone before; neither cou'd any true  
 " Reformation of the Church have been  
 " attempted, unless the Subversion of the  
 " Superstitious Houses had been join'd  
 " therewith. And yet we have those of  
 " High-Church, who scruple not to condemn  
 " not only *Henry VIII.* for depriving the  
 " Clergy of these Estates, but those who at  
 " present possess them, as guilty of Sacri-  
 " lege for with-holding them from the  
 " Church; tho taking *Church* in the Scrip-  
 " ture-Sense, they are now in the hands of  
 " the Church, and have (ever since the  
 " Church or People were possess'd of 'em)  
 " been a great Bulwark against Popery:  
 " but whilst the Clergy had 'em, they were  
 " a great Cause of promoting and continuing  
 " it; and consequently they who gave the  
 " Estates to, rather than they who took  
 " 'em



'em from the Clergy, were guilty of Sacrilege. And 'tis the Interest of those who now enjoy 'em, to oppose such high Notions, since if these prevail, they are in danger of losing those Estates, and with 'em their Religion; which, as there's no Instance of, so 'tis impossible it shou'd be preserv'd uncorrupted in any Nation, where the Clergy have such powerful Means of ruining it. Therefore our *Wick-cliff*, and all others seriously aiming at a Reformation, have constantly endeavour'd to disarm the Clergy of these, as finding it absolutely necessary to carry on their pious Designs; in which if *Luther* abroad and our Reformers at home were more happy than others, it was because they did not, like them, miscarry in this Point. This enabl'd 'em to strike at the Foundation of Popery and Priestcraft, the Independency of the Clergy.

34. Which those at the Helm here took all possible care to root out; and had they not done so, 'twas impossible the Reformation shou'd have been carry'd on, since the Clergy, generally speaking, were Enemys to it. And in the Beginning of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, the Sees being full of Popish Bishops, and the Convocation, with *Bonner* at the head of it, opposing all Alteration, the Reformation, to the great Scandal of the Papists and High-Church, may justly be call'd *Lay* or *Parliamentary*.

Had Men reason'd at that time as some do now-a-days, " That all Religious Doctrines and Opinions ought to be left to  
 " the

“ the Convocation as the proper Judges, Chap. 6.  
 “ and that Country-Gentlemen, Lawyers,  
 “ Merchants, &c. assembled in Parliament,  
 “ ought not to presume to meddle with  
 “ those Matters, for want of a competent  
 “ Skill in Councils, Fathers, Church-His-  
 “ tory, Languages, &c. Instead of get-  
 “ ting clear, we must have stuck the faster  
 “ and deeper in the Mud and Filth of Po-  
 “ pery.

35. Not only in King Edward's, but for  
 some considerable time in Queen Elizabeth's  
 Reign, till the Reformation was thorowly  
 settled, the Laity were very little influenc'd  
 by the Clergy, as having a very mean Opi-  
 nion of their Learning, as well as Discre-  
 tion; and that not without good reason,  
 as appears by the Queen's Injunctions,  
 which declare, *That in these latter Days* Injunct. 47.  
*many were made Priests, being Children, and*  
*otherwise utterly unlearned; that they cou'd*  
*not read: and that Ministers might read to*  
*the better understanding of the People, they*  
*are all of 'em charg'd to read leisurely, plainly,*  
*and distinctly. And such as are only mean*  
*Readers, are to peruse over before, once* Injunct. 53.  
*or twice, the Chapters and Homilies. As*  
 to the Discretion of the Clergy, the People  
 must needs have a mean Opinion of that,  
 when to prevent the Offence and Slander,  
 which many Ministers caus'd to the Church,  
 both in chusing their Wives, and indis-  
 creet living with 'em, it was thought very  
 necessary, under no less Penalty than an  
 utter Incapacity, *That no manner of Priest* Injunct. 29.  
*sho'd take to his Wife any manner of Woman,*  
*without*

*without the Good Will of her Relations, or Master and Mistress where she serves; and also the Advice and Allowance first had upon good Examination by the Bishop and two neighbouring Justices: nor cou'd the Bishops themselves marry without the Approbation of the Metropolitan and the Queen's Commissio-*

*ners. And so contemptible an Opinion had the Nation of Academick Learning, that the Universities were in a manner destitute, the Publick Schools being converted into private Garden-Plots.*

*Dr. Lang-*  
*bain's Pre-*  
*face to Sir*  
*J. Check's*  
*True Sub-*  
*ject to the*  
*Rebel.*

36. If under these Circumstances (for things were much the same abroad as at home) the Protestant Religion got the Ascendant, one wou'd have thought that Popery must have been quite extirpated, when the Protestant Clergy came to be profoundly learned in Fathers, Councils, Church-History, and to get an Influence and Authority over the Laity. But alas, the thing was quite otherwise; for the Reformation, which like a mighty Torrent bore down every thing that stood in its way, had not only its Current then suddenly check'd, but it lost ground in several Places, and in others it maintain'd it self with great difficulty. And this great Turn was owing to those absurd Notions, which tho disclaim'd by the first Reformers, were by degrees, under the shelter of the Authority of Fathers and Councils, introduc'd again in favour of an Independent Power, the Foundation on which the Greatness of Antichristian Rome is wholly built. And therefore 'tis no wonder, that, considering



dering the Danger of Popery has increas'd Chap. 6.  
in proportion to the Advancement of these  
Notions, there has all along been so good  
an Understanding, tho at present greater  
than ever, between the Papists and High-  
Fliers.

37. Let us from the Beginning of the Re-  
formation ascend to that of Christianity,  
and see how things were then manag'd.

Then Churches by the Laws of the Em-  
pire were incapable of possessing Lands or  
Inheritances, and the Clergy, as they subsisted  
by the Alms of the People, so they were in  
all other Matters, as I shall fully prove here-  
after, wholly dependent upon them; and  
then Religion wonderfully flourish'd and in-  
creas'd. But,

When they no longer depended on their  
Choice, or their Alms, but came to be no-  
minated by one another, and to have Re-  
venues and Possessions of their own, which  
necessarily gave them Authority and Power  
in proportion to 'em, then Religion went  
to wreck, and they abounded with all man-  
ner of Vices; Men running into Orders  
for the sake of Worldly Grandeur: and too  
many of 'em had no regard to Religion, as  
a divine and excellent Science, and of real  
Benefit to Mankind, both singly, and in So-  
cietys, but only as they made it a Trade  
to enrich themselves and infatuate the  
Vulgar.

38. And the Reason why in some barren  
Places of *Christendom*, Religion, notwith-  
standing the Ignorance of the People, was  
not so much depriv'd as in happier Cli-  
mates,

mates, is because those Countrys cou'd not support any great number of Priests, nor bestow any great Revenues on the few they had; and consequently the Clergy were not able (nor was it so much worth their while) to introduce or keep up Corruptions here as elsewhere.

Besides, their Poverty was a further Security to 'em, by hindring 'em from having sufficient leisure to attend the vain and groundless, tho amusing and subtle Distinctions the Priests coin in favour of an Independent Power. And therefore 'tis no wonder that when the greatest part of *Christendom* had most scandalously deprav'd Religion, those who were term'd the *Poor Men of Lyons, Waldenses, Albigenes, &c.* preserv'd it in some tolerable degree of Purity. And they were so far from setting up two Independent Powers, that they who officiated amongst 'em (as I shall prove hereafter) were such as we term Laymen, and generally of some secular Employment, so that they were no burden to the Community. I do not therefore wonder that such a Precedent was sufficient to alarm the Pope and all his Adherents, and raise a Croisado in order to extirpate this generation of Men.

39. Had the Clergy been such every where else, Religion (which is short, plain, and easy in it self, as adapted to the Capacity of the Generality of Mankind, the Simple and Unlearned) had not been render'd so obscure, perplex'd and intricate, nor mixt and blended with so many profound

found and useless Metaphysical Notions; Chap. 6.  
and abstruse; nice and needless Speculations; the Introduction of which requir'd a great deal of Labour and Pains, Art and Skill, and cou'd not be contriv'd by plain simple Men, who had other Callings to mind, but must be the Work of those who liv'd at ease, and were masters of their whole time; who saw how much it was their Interest to render Christianity Perplex'd and Unintelligible, that the Laity might not only admire 'em for their deep Knowledg in Religion, but likewise leave it wholly to their Management, as being infinitely above their poor Capacities, and beyond their weak Apprehensions.

40. Which Design succeeded accordingly, and these profound Theologues impos'd on the easy People what selfish Doctrines they pleas'd.

And to prevent their perceiving how grossly they were abus'd, on pretence of informing their Understanding, they industriously kept 'em in ignorance, by amusing 'em with artificial Cant and learned Gibberish, made up of obscure, doubtful, and undefin'd Words: by virtue of which they can defend any advantageous Doctrine, tho ever so absurd; since it serves 'em to confound, not only the Ignorant and Men of Business with hard Words, but to employ the Ingenious and Inquisitive in intricate Disputes, upon unintelligible Terms, and hold them perpetually entangl'd in an endless Labyrinth of Words. And therefore 'tis no wonder that such Learning (if  
it



it may deserve that name) is not only taught every where in the Schools (none being capable of taking a Degree in the Universitys without a competent Skill in it) but that Tutors read it to young Gentlemen; who if they apply themselves in earnest to the study of it, have their Brains generally so confounded by this Jargon, that they are in great danger of never understanding Things clearly: but the most they can expect, after great Labour and Industry (besides an Air of Pedantry, a Narrowness of Mind, and Obstinacy in Opinion) is to arrive at the Art of Thinking confusedly, Reasoning wrongly, and Wrangling eternally.

41. But if the Crabbedness and Barrenness of this Study gives 'em an Aversion to Learning, then they consume their time in Idleness, and consequently in Debauchery; and such a Habit once contracted, is seldom or never remov'd.

By both which means some Men equally gain their Ends; since by both, they equally keep People in Ignorance, and consequently can influence 'em as they please; Tho the last mention'd Gentlemen, as being most in number, make the greatest Noise, and every where haul the loudest for High Church; and are the chief Tools with which these subtle Clergymen work their Designs, who lately cut out such a *Tacking* Job for them, as, had the Experiment succeeded, must have ruin'd the Nation, and with it the whole Protestant Interest.

42. And since Ignorance is the Mother of Devotion, tho not to God, yet to the Priests, who are in a manner ador'd where the People are thorowly ignorant; 'tis unreasonable to expect that they shou'd in earnest endeavour to make those, whose Education is intrusted with 'em, so learned or wise, as to be above Priestcraft. Chap. 6.

No, instead of that they made 'em, even in Philosophy, the better to prepare 'em for it in Religion, *jurare in verba Magistri*. For as no other Philosophy except that of Aristotle was to be taught, so his *ipse dixit* was sufficient for a blind Submission: And his obscure Metaphysical Notions, calculated as it were for the defence of their absurd self-interested Doctrines, quickly became the fundamental Laws, not only of Philosophy but Divinity. And a great Cardinal (a) has not stuck to acknowledg, *That without his help we shou'd have wanted many Articles of Faith*; for which Reason the Magistrate was bound to use the Secular Aid in protecting his Writings, and the Courts of Judicature to interest themselves in his Defence. And the Parliament of Paris, for instance, in 1629 made an Arrest against some Chymists who were too free with him, upon Information from the Sorbonists, that his Principles cou'd not be writ against or lessen'd, without prejudicing the receiv'd Divinity of

(a) Senza Aristotele noi mancavaremo molti Articoli  
dratted Cardinal Pallavicino.

the

His Apol.  
to Pope  
Eugenius  
IV.

the Schools. Nay, his Doctrines were held in such Religious Veneration, that 'twas nothing less than Heresy to oppose them; which poor *Ramus* found to his Cost, who for making some Observations tending to diminish their Credit, was murder'd at the Massacre of *Paris*, with the same Zeal as the *Calvinists* were. And *Laurentius Valla*, for Heresy against the ten Predicaments, and some such like Opinions, had it not been for the powerful Intercession of *Alphonfus* King of *Naples*, had been oppress'd by the Inquisition. Upon the first Discovery of *Aristotle's* Works the Scene was quite different, the Clergy being then in a terrible Apprehension about them; and not only a Pope, but a Council at *Paris*, forbad the reading 'em on pain of Excommunication: and several, as *Mezeray* saith, were, for the sake of his Opinions (the countenancing thereof being the chief Crime objected to 'em) burnt for Hereticks. In a word, till they found those Parts of his Writings, so much afterwards in Repute with the Schools, full of that vain babling Philosophy *St. Paul* condemns, they were as apprehensive of 'em as some Men are of the Works of a \* late Philosopher; which they are afraid will let too much Light into the World, and improve *Human Understanding* more than is for their Interest.

\* Mr.  
Locke.

Introdust.  
to Hist.  
P. 426.

43. The *Sieur Puffendorf*, in showing how instrumental the Universitys were in promoting the Power of the Pope, saith, "That the Divinity and Philosophy profess'd



fess'd there, were not taught with an Chap. 6.  
 intention to make Students more Learned  
 or Understanding, but that the Inge-  
 nious by these confus'd and idle Terms  
 might be diverted from thorowly inves-  
 tigating those Matters, which wou'd  
 have led 'em to the whole Discovery of  
 the Popish Intrigues. Their Scholastick  
 Divinity is for the most part intangl'd  
 in useless Questions, invented chiefly by  
 Lombard, Scotus, and other Patriarchs  
 of Pedantry. And what they call Phi-  
 losophy, is nothing else than a Collection  
 of foolish Chimera's, empty Terms, and  
 very bad Latin. With these Trumpe-  
 rys the Universitys were not only over-  
 run during the former barbarous Times,  
 but even continue to this very day; and  
 tho most Sciences are so much improv'd,  
 the old Leven is with great Industry pre-  
 serv'd and propagated. If this method  
 of teaching booty was, as he observes,  
 contriv'd that the Popish Priests might  
 not want means to domineer over the  
 Laymens Consciences, and to entangle  
 'em with so many dubious and double-  
 meaning Insinuations, that they are  
 thereby render'd incapable to examine  
 and rule their Actions according to solid  
 Principles, but are oblig'd to be guided  
 blindfold according to the Pleasure of  
 their Father-Confessors. If this, as he  
 says, was what the Popish Clergy aim'd at,  
 will not the Ill-natur'd be too apt to sus-  
 pect that others, if they fall into the  
 same methods, have the same Designs of

Domineering over the Consciences of the Laity; and that cou'd they, like the Popish Priests, add to this a Restraint on the Press, their Business wou'd be effectually done?

44. It may be worth observing, that the Clergy, before they contriv'd this Jargon of the Schools, did not only endeavour to infuse into their Auditors an Aversion to all Books of Human Philosophy and Learning, on account of their being written by the Heathens, but took 'em away from the Students committed to their Care. Nay, even the Bishops themselves at the Council of *Carthage*, about the year 400, were forbid reading Heathen Authors; and *St. Jerom*, as 'tis said, was whip'd with Rods by an Angel for reading *Cicero's* Works. Which no doubt occasion'd the Loss of many excellent Works, to the unspeakable damage of the Commonwealth of Letters. But when some Nations cou'd be no longer kept from prying into Learning, this miserable Gibberish of the Schools was contriv'd.

To which had it been confin'd, the Mischief had not been so considerable: but it has unhappily invaded the chief Concernments of human Life, and Society; obscur'd and perplex'd the material Truths of Law and Divinity; brought Confusion, Disorder, and Uncertainty into the Affairs of Mankind; and in a great measure render'd useless the Rules of Religion and Justice.

45. A Clergyman by the help of this profound Learning, tho' he had taken the Oath of Supremacy, nay tho' he had before  
his

his Sermon pray'd for the King as Supreme Chap. 6?  
Head and Governor of the Church next  
and immediately under Christ, yet cou'd in  
his Sermon easily distinguish this away ; and  
place the Government of the Church in his  
own Tribe next and immediately under  
Christ, independent of all Human Powers  
whatsoever.

To which let me add, that as nothing  
cou'd be more contrary to High-Church  
Notions in relation to Civil Government,  
than the Oath of Allegiance upon the Revo-  
lution, so Men could not change their  
Sentiments on a sudden ; and consequently,  
too many either dissembl'd, when in the  
former Reigns they preach'd up their en-  
slaving Doctrines, or else in the late Reign  
they took the Oath against their Conscience ;  
unless such Distinctions cou'd help 'em out  
as must destroy the force of any Oath what-  
soever. And possibly it was by the Assis-  
tance of these, that they never thought  
themselves better employ'd than in doing  
something or other, which less subtle Men  
wou'd conclude was directly contrary to,  
and in defiance of their Oath.

46. As some Men are so very Learned  
that no Oath can bind 'em, of which their  
distinguishing away one so fully express'd  
as the Oath of Supremacy, is a sufficient  
Proof ; so their Knowledg is so very pro-  
found, that they can evade any Precept of  
Morality : as for instance, the Rule of do-  
ing to others as you wou'd be done unto,  
obliges Men to allow one another the Liber-  
ty of judging for themselves which is the



true Religion, and likewise of acting according to their Judgment; since this is the very same thing they expect from all others. And yet how many are there, who by the help of their transcendent Metaphysics, have invented a thousand Distinctions to evade this plain Rule? And they who have Learning enough to make this great Law insignificant, strike in a manner at the foundation of all Morality.

47. None act more absurdly than your High Fliers, who wou'd confound this grand Duty of Moderation on no better pretence, than because 'tis no Commendation to be moderately (meaning indifferently) honest or wise. A Character yet too high for such as on so gross a Fallacy endeavour to divert People from treating those of differing Sentiments with Christian Moderation. Men must either be very weak themselves, or else believe Peoples Understanding no better than their own Honesty, if they hope to impose on 'em by such trifling Sophistry. But the Author of *Moderation display'd* is very free with this Christian Virtue, and makes it, in spite of the Bible, to derive its Original from Hell and its Fiends; tho' one wou'd think the Heat of that Place, and the Gnashing of Teeth there, seem more naturally to describe the Enemies of Moderation. But to return.

48. I need not mention any more Instances of this nature, since there are as many Examples of it, as these Gentlemen have By-interests to serve. And whosoever

ever will give himself the trouble to read their Systems of Divinity, will find them full of mere verbal Distinctions and Words, of none, or at least no certain Signification; but sometimes taking 'em in one, sometimes in another sense, just as 'tis for their turn; very well knowing that Error being unacceptable to the Mind of Man, there's no other defence for Absurdity than Obscurity, and that the only way for strange and senseless Doctrines to gain Admittance, is to guard 'em round with Legions of obscure, doubtful, and undefin'd Words.

49. And had it not been the Design of the Clergy, by these and such like Artifices, to keep the Laity in Ignorance and Superstition; what's the Reason that those prevail, according as the Ecclesiasticks advance in Power, Influence and Interest? As for instance, are not the People more ignorant and superstitious in *Spain* or *Portugal*, than in *Venice*, or lately in *France*? And what other account can be given of it, than that the Authority, Power and Influence of the Clergy is so much greater? And now in *France* do not Ignorance and Superstition proportionably increase, according to the large Steps which Priestcraft (by their King's growing a Bigot and Persecutor) takes there; which are such, that in a short time they will have little to object to *Spain* upon this account? But,

50. Does not this hold in *Protestant* as well as *Popish* Countrys? Are not People more Ignorant and Superstitious in *Sweden*

or *Denmark* than in *Holland* or *England*? Have not the Clergy in those Places so great an Authority, that they hinder all Liberty of Conscience? And do not the People pay them now as blind and implicit Submission, as they did to their Popish Predecessors? But in these freer Countrys, as the Clergy have less Power, Authority and Interest; so Religion is better understood, and more useful and excellent Discourses are made on that Subject, than in all the World besides.

And if you compare the Parts of *Great Britain*, you will find that the Clergy have a greater Ascendent over the People in *Scotland* than in *England*; and are they not accordingly more Ignorant, Bigotted and Uncharitable?

51. And in *England*, are not those whom the Papists care as fit Tools to bring about their wicked Designs, Ignorant, Bigotted, Priestridden Wretches? 'Tis not the moderate Churchmen who join with the *Jacobites* and *Papists* in all Elections, and other Designs; 'tis not they who are so inseparably united to 'em, as to have the same Friends and Enemys.

If the Church of *England* is the Bulwark against Popery, it cannot belong to them (tho they would engross the Name of the Church to themselves) whom the Papists and Jacobites assist in all their pious Designs, and in none more than opposing the Bishops and moderate Churchmen.

52. There's no need to instance in any more particular Countrys, tho it holds in all



all without exception; when 'tis notorious that in those Ages which are so infamous for the Universal Ignorance and Barbarity which then overspread the Face of *Christendom*, the Clergy prodigiously abounded in Number, Power, and Riches; and Priestcraft arriv'd at its greatest height. And 'tis as evident, that as this palpable Darknes vanish'd in any place, and the true Light of the Gospel shone forth, so the Clergy have decreas'd in Number, Power, Riches and Credit: So certain is it that *Church*, taking the word in the sense of the High-fliers, and Religion can never flourish together, but as one rises t'other falls.

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Q 4

CHAP.

## CHAP. VII.

*That this Hypothesis of an Independent Power in any Set of Clergymen, makes all Reformation unlawful, except where those who are suppos'd to have this Power, do consent.*

1. **A**N Independent Power in the Clergy is a certain way, not only to have Corruptions get into the Church, but to perpetuate 'em; except the Clergy, the first Introducers of 'em, and whose Temporal Interest 'tis to have 'em continu'd, do consent: for if the People without their Ecclesiastical Governors can reform these Corruptions, there's an end of their Independent Ecclesiastical Government; since that is a disowning all their Spiritual Jurisdiction, and setting up a Church-Government in opposition to them. So that 'tis necessary to own, that either their Power depends on the People, or else that these are oblig'd to submit to whatsoever Terms of Communion those are pleas'd to impose: for if they have the Government, not from them, but from God, then, as he alone gave it 'em, so he alone can take it away; and consequently, till God makes it  
ap-

appear by some new Revelation that he has Chap. 7.  
depriv'd 'em of it, their Subjects are oblig'd  
to own them as their Spiritual Governors.  
But since nothing of this nature is now to  
be expected, Men must for ever pay Ecclesi-  
astical Obedience to those Governors, tho'  
they teach ever so false and heretical Doc-  
trines, or require ever so wicked or impious  
Terms of Communion.

2. To say that the People, if they judg  
they require such Terms, or think they  
teach such Doctrines, can disown 'em, and  
chuse others to manage their Church-Af-  
fairs, makes 'em not only dependent in the  
management of their Ecclesiastical Em-  
ploys, but supposes all the Right they have  
to 'em deriv'd from the People, because upon  
their judging them guilty of Male-Admi-  
nistration they may deprive 'em of this  
Right, which cou'd not be, did it not at  
first flow from them.

3. The reason why the People may upon  
just grounds withdraw their Allegiance  
from the Civil Magistrate, is, because all  
the Power he has is given him by them  
in order to act for their Good; and they  
who depute him, must needs reserve to  
themselves a Power to judg whether their  
Deputy acts according to the Trust lodg'd in  
him.

- But had he not his Power from the Peo-  
ple, but immediately from God, he cou'd  
never forfeit his Right, or be accountable  
to any besides God; and only the Divine  
Power which gave it him cou'd take it  
away.

4. By



4. By this Argument, the fawning flattering Priests in former Reigns endeavour'd to establish an absolute arbitrary Power in the King, which they very well saw was an unavoidable Consequence of a Divine Right. But,

If God has not plac'd Mankind in respect to Civil Matters (as these designing Men wou'd persuade the World) under an absolute Power, upon no account to be resisted, but has permitted 'em in every Society to act as they judg best for their own Safety, and to that end has given 'em a Right of forming what sort of Government they please, and to intrust it with what Persons they think fit; and of refusing to submit to them when they act contrary to the End for which they were constituted: If God has, I say, allow'd the Civil Society these Privileges; can we suppose he has less kindness for his Church, which if depriv'd of this Liberty, might not only lose the Power of acting as freely for the advantage of the True as others of a False Religion, but be likewise oblig'd to submit to whatsoever Terms of Communion (tho ever so false and wicked) a few Ecclesiasticks shall impose upon 'em?

5. There's more to be pleaded for such a Power in Ecclesiastical than in Civil Matters; because Men may refuse Communion with those Clergymen who pretend to have the Government in Ecclesiasticals, without drawing on 'em any of those Disorders which too often attend Peoples defending  
their

their Civil Rights, Besides, a Man may Chap. 7.  
pay external Obedience in Civil Matters to the Determinations of the Magistrate, tho he does not believe 'em just : but in Ecclesiasticals all Compliance which is not internal, is unlawful ; because a Man has not the same Power over his Faith or Religion, as he has over his Estate.

6. Therefore as much as Mens Eternal Happiness is to be prefer'd before their Temporal, so much is the claiming a Power not deriv'd from the People in Religious Matters, of more fatal consequence than in Civil ; tho they who are for it in either, are Enemys to the Rights and Libertys of Mankind, and can design nothing less than making 'em Slaves to Priests or Princes.

7. This curs'd Hypothesis had perhaps never been thought on with relation to Civils, had not the Clergy (who have an inexhaustible Magazine of oppressive Doctrines) contriv'd it first in Ecclesiasticals, to gratify their insupportable itch of Tyrannizing over the Laity, and over one another : for it as much enslaves the Generality of themselves, since those few who have the Government of the Church by Divine Right, enjoy it as independently of them as of the Laity ; which must prevent all Reformation, except a Majority of the Governing Clergy chance to reform all together (which nothing less than a Miracle can bring about) and the Attempt in all other Clergymen must be unlawful, because it cannot be done without disowning their Spiritual Governors, in respect of whom  
they

they are only private Persons, and may be wholly reduc'd to a Lay-State by them: because a Sentence pronounc'd by a competent Authority is valid, tho not right; and those who have sufficient Power to make, must have the same to unmake Clergymen. Therefore in order to serve them (tho I expect little Thanks for my Labour) I shall add somewhat more on this Head.

8. The Light of Nature, as well as the Gospel, obliges People to *judg of themselves, and to take heed to what they hear, to try the Spirits, to avoid and flee false Prophets, Seducers, and Deceivers, and blind Guides, &c.* And if Men are to avoid such, they are to judg who they are, else the Command wou'd be to no purpose: which is inconsistent with continuing those in the Station of Spiritual Guides whom they judg to be false Teachers. And as they are oblig'd to reject 'em, so they are bound (unless they must remain without any Ecclesiastical Officers) to take those they judg Honest and Sincere, and who will preach the Truth. And how does this differ from a Right to make, or deprive their Ecclesiastical Ministers? To own they can unmake, or deprive 'em, by thus separating from 'em, and to deny they can make or ordain others, is absurd; since no more Power is requir'd for the one than the other: *Cujus est destruere ejus est condere*, and so *vice versa* is a certain Maxim. But if they cou'd not thus deprive them, all those Commands of fleeing  
false



false Prophets, Seducers, &c. wou'd be im- possible, since whatever they judg of their Ecclesiastical Guides, they are still oblig'd to communicate with 'em as such. And therefore upon this Supposition, the Popish Clergy are in the right, when in express Terms they forbid the People to judg for themselves, but implicitly submit to their Determinations.

9. In a word, it can belong only to the People to appoint their own Ecclesiastical Officers; since 'tis for their sake that any Officers of that nature are instituted, and 'tis their Interest alone which is concern'd, and their Good or Ill which depends on the Choice of their Ministers: and consequently, that any shou'd have a Right of obtruding whom they please on them, is most unnatural, and contrary to the receiv'd Rule of having that which concerns All approv'd by All. And therefore there's no need of any particular Texts of Scripture to prove this Power belongs to the Church, since 'tis an inherent fundamental Right of all Communitys. The contrary Notion not only makes the Church to be founded for the sake of its Ministers, who may rule and domineer as uncontrollably as they please, since the Faithful can never disown them, tho they act ever so arbitrarily, and tyrannize ever so barbarously; but it necessarily supposes (provided there must be Church-Officers) that God either prefers an absolute Obedience to the Will of the Priests before the Salvation of Mankind, and therefore wou'd have 'em submit

to

to the most impious Doctrines those dare to impose, rather than throw 'em off, and put others in their places; or else there's no such thing as Truth and Falshood, Virtue and Vice, Piety and Impiety, but all Religion consists in paying a blind Obedience to them, without any regard to the Nature of the things which they impose as necessary Terms of Communion. Nay, this Hypothesis makes it to depend on the Clergy whether there shall be any Religious Worship or not; since they may, as has been actually done in several places, put People under an Interdict; and this may be done by the Caprice, if not of a Pope or Patriarch, yet of the governing Clergy, who are few in comparison of the rest, and who may suspend, deprive or degrade the Inferior Clergy, if they presume to be disobedient to their Commands.

10. But if these things are too absurd to be admitted, the Church cannot be depriv'd of their fundamental Right of making and unmaking their Ministers, and of regulating all Church-matters, as they judge most conducive to the Advantage of their Spiritual Interest. And the Scripture in recommending to the Faithful the taking diligent heed to the Preservation and Confirmation of their Faith, and to propagate it to their Children, gives 'em by that very thing a sufficient Right to make use of all proper Means in order to that End. And if it be allow'd, that the Ministry is one of those means, the Obligation



tion the Faithful are under to preserve and propagate the Faith, includes creating their own Ministers. And therefore tho it be customary to admit none to the Ministry who are not approv'd by the Bishops or other Priests, yet that is only a Trust they receive from the Church, which they are bound to reassume when 'tis abus'd by laying hands on such as have not necessary Qualifications, or are Enemys to the Truth, of which every Church (all implicit Faith being forbid) must judg. Nay, if every one has not an inherent Right to chuse his own Guide or Pastor, but others are to do it for him, then a Man must either be of the Religion of his Guide, or else be bound to continue him in that Employ, tho he believes the Path he directs him in leads to Hell. But none will say, for instance, that a Protestant is oblig'd to take a Papist for his Guide, tho Popery was the Establish'd Religion, and a Popish Patron had a legal Right to present to his Parish; or on the contrary, that a Papist, as long as he continu'd such, was oblig'd to take a Protestant Guide, or that any Man was to continue his Guide, if either of 'em should change his Religion. And the same Reason which obliges a Man not to take a Pastor of a different Religion, equally obliges him to chuse among them of his own Persuasion whom he thinks most likely to promote his Eternal Happiness.

As every one can best judg what tends most to his Edification, so he can best tell what Guide edifies him most, as being alone  
able



able to discover who speaks most suitably to his Apprehension, or most raises his Affections to Heavenly Things, or any other way best advances his Spiritual Interest.

11. None pretend to impose a Conductor or Director on another in temporal Affairs, but every one is left to manage 'em as he thinks best for his own Interest, as being presum'd to understand it better than another; and therefore is to chuse his own Lawyer, Physician, Brewer, Baker, &c. And by the same reason he ought to chuse his own Spiritual Conductor; nor can he, if he has any Concern for his Soul, which must be suppos'd to be dearer to him than to any other, leave to another a thing of such vast Consequence to himself. Nor wou'd any contend for it, were it not to gratify a temporal Interest; and 'tis most unnatural to think that they of all Men are to chuse Guides for the People, who have no other way to arrive at immense Honour, Power and Riches, than by nominating such as will pervert Religion for the sake of these.

12. Not only the Popish Clergy, but too many who wou'd be thought Protestants, instead of supposing a Man is to chuse his own Guide, as a necessary Consequence of chusing his own Religion, affirm the Laity are bound to submit to whatever Terms of Communion the Clergy require of 'em in their *Provincial Synods*, except those Terms are condemn'd by a General Council; and then they are not to vary from what that requires.

13. This

13. This is such an absolute blind Obedience, that these Men, tho they pretend the contrary, will not stand by it. For tho they require such an intire Submission to those Councils which they approve, yet they scruple not to condemn and reject others compos'd of a greater Number of Bishops, and sent from more Nations; and in exprefs terms say, no Council has Authority which is not Orthodox. But this is subjecting the Authority of Councils to the Reason of every private Person: for as that obliges him to approve such Councils, because it tells him they judg'd aright, so it wou'd have made him condemn them had they determin'd otherwise; and by consequence, he is oblig'd to act contrary to all of 'em, whether Provincial or General, if his Reason, by which he is to judg of 'em, informs him they are all in the wrong. And accordingly we find the Reformers did not think themselves bound by the Popish Doctrines, tho several of 'em had been confirm'd not only by National, but (if there were ever any such) by General Councils. So that this is a miserable Subterfuge, which, instead of supporting, destroys the Independency of the Clergy, and supposes a Power in the People to reject them and their Authority, when they require such Terms of Communion as they judg unlawful. If it had been otherwise, the People cou'd not have separated from *Paulus Samosatenus*, *Arius*, or any other Heretick, till some Council, either General or Provincial,

vincial, had declar'd 'em so. But if they may separate from their Ecclesiasticks for speculative Opinions, there's no reason why they may not do the same for false Doctrines. When the Clergy are press'd hard on this point, the last Shift they have recourse to is, that the People, when their Ecclesiastical Governors require unlawful Terms of Communion, are freed from all Subjection to 'em; yet that infers no Depriving Power in them, but that God first interposes, and deprives 'em himself, which makes it then lawful for the People to leave 'em. But,

14. Since the People's Right of deserting the Communion of the Clergy, depends on their judging of their Doctrines, and consequently they are as much bound to disown those they judg to be false Teachers, as if they were really so; 'tis the same thing whether you say God or the People deprives them, since they will be depriv'd whenever the People think they are bound in Conscience to separate from 'em. Some who love to raise a Mist about every thing, question whether they are oblig'd to follow their Consciences when erroneous; but that is the same thing as to question whether they are oblig'd to follow their Consciences at all: because as long as one in Conscience is persuaded of any thing, he cannot think it an Error; and it must destroy all Conscience, if Men were oblig'd not to follow it, lest it might lead 'em into Error; and consequently, as long as the People's Consciences tell 'em their  
Eccle-



Ecclesiasticks require unlawful Terms of Communion, or are false Teachers, Seducers, Deceivers, &c. they are oblig'd to renounce 'em. To suppose that God by an antecedent Deprivation dissolves the Spiritual Relation between 'em, is to say that God deprives the Ecclesiasticks of the Power he gave 'em, tho they stand up for the Truth, whenever the People think 'em in the wrong; and that he continues the Divine Commission to the most Heretical, if the People think 'em in the right. And shou'd any one say this, it wou'd no more prejudice the People's Power, than it wou'd the Magistrate's, if any had a mind to banter, and say he cou'd not deprive one of any Civil Employ, but that God alone cou'd do it, and that he always did so, whenever the Magistrate wou'd have him remov'd.

15. Here I can't avoid observing how absurd it is for Protestants to insist so much on the Authority of Councils; when (if it be not unlawful to speak Truth concerning 'em) there was scarce any, which, as they had an opportunity, made not their market of Religion, and sold it to the fairest Chapman; and were so subject, either out of Design or Ignorance, to be in the wrong, that 'tis forty to one that every one of 'em, taking one with another, was so. Nor can this be deny'd without giving up the Protestant Religion, since so few of 'em favour it; and therefore engaging with the Papists on that foot, is putting it to the Issue they desire.

## C H A P. VIII.

*That the Clergy's pretending to an Independent Power has been the Occasion of Infinite Mischief to the Christian World, and is utterly inconsistent with the Happiness of Human Societys.*

1. **T**HE Clergy, who can't deny that 'tis absolutely necessary for *Order and Government*, that all others in their several Professions and Employments shou'd be subject to the Magistrate; yet make an Exception for their Dear Selves, and wou'd not only be Independent in the Exercise of their Profession, but as the Consequence of it, have him Dependent on them in all things relating to their Office, viz. all Ecclesiastical Matters. But no other Order of Men, shou'd they pretend to an Independent Power, are capable of doing so much mischief to the Publick as the Ecclesiasticks; because they have, by the Education of Youth being entrusted to 'em, the opportunity of stamping on their early Minds, capable then of any Impression, what Notions they please; which, tho ever so absurd, such is the Power of Education, are seldom after to be rooted out. And they are so posted in every Parish, that they can harangue in publick the Body of the People, at least twice a week;

week; and in private, and in the tenderest Season, inculcate what they have a mind to; And the Multitude, as *Grotius* very well remarks from *Curtius*, “ is more apt to be govern’d by their Priests than Princes. And he adds, “ That the Kings and Emperors of *Asia* and *Europe* have learn’d this at their own cost, infomuch that to produce the Examples of this kind wou’d be in a manner to transcribe the History of all Nations. And considering there’s no Doctrine that advances the Interest of any Clergyman as such, which does not equally promote that of all others of the same Order; ’tis no wonder if Men be unanimous in preaching those Doctrines, tho ever so much to the prejudice of the State. And what might not Men of their Learning and Abilitys by degrees introduce among the Ignorant and Unlearned, if they had liberty to preach what they had a mind to, without the least Controul, as they must, if they are Independent in their Ecclesiastical Offices? and consequently the Magistrate is oblig’d to have a more watchful eye, and a stricter hand over them, than over others; especially if they attempt to persuade the People that in obeying the Magistrate they only obey *Man*, but in obeying them they obey *God*; and therefore apply to themselves such Texts as, *’Tis better to obey God than Man; Render unto God the things which are God’s, &c.* Nor,

De Imperio sum-  
mar. Potestatum  
circa Sacra, lib. 1.

De Imperio  
summar. Potestatum  
circa Sacra



2. Can the Magistrate allow them an Independent Power over others, in things of ever so much an Ecclesiastical nature, without the greatest danger to the Commonwealth; as for instance, If the admitting into, and turning out of the Church, did Independently belong to them, they might make such Doctrines necessary Terms of Communion, as wou'd (either directly or indirectly) cause People's Propertys, if not their Lives, to be at their Disposal.

3. Nay such a Power, tho in the most indifferent things relating to the Church, cannot, without the greatest hazard imaginable, be allow'd 'em; since the introducing new, or retaining old Ceremonys, when contrary to the Inclination of the People, may and frequently have produc'd fatal Disturbances.

Irenicon,  
Book 1.  
chap. 2.

Bishop *Stillingsfleet* very well observes,  
“ That the least Peg screw'd up too high in  
“ the Church, causes a great Discord in the  
“ State, and quickly puts mens Spirits out  
“ of tune; whereas many Irregularitys may  
“ happen in the State, and yet they live in  
“ Quietness and Peace. For we have found  
“ by doleful Experience, that if *Aaron's*  
“ Bells ring backward, and a Fire once  
“ catches the Church, the whole State is  
“ suddenly put into danger; if *Phaetons*  
“ drive the Chariot of the Sun, the World  
“ will soon be on fire.

4. As all Monopolys are prejudicial to the State, so most of all are Ecclesiastical; and it cannot be doubted, that if a Set of Men were able to persuade the World, that

that no Baptism cou'd be valid, unless ad- Chap. 8  
minister'd with such a Water as they alone  
had the Secret to compose; or that no  
Bread and Wine cou'd serve for the Sa-  
crament, which was not to be had from  
them: If they, I say, cou'd get these  
things believ'd, might they not set what  
value they pleas'd upon 'em, to the infi-  
nitely enriching of themselves, and impo-  
verishing and consequently enslaving all o-  
thers? For wou'd not they, who thought  
their Salvation depended on having this  
Water or this Bread, give all they had in  
the World, especially when ready to leave  
it, rather than be without 'em? And  
why will not the same Consequences hap-  
pen, if it be once allow'd, that only such  
Men, and whom they shall admit into  
their Fraternity, have the sole Right not  
only of administering the Sacraments, but  
an Arbitrary Power of refusing 'em to  
whom they please? Do not the *Greek* and  
*Armenian* Patriarchs get infinite Profit by  
claiming the sole Power of making *Holy*  
*Oil*; which they pretend must necessarily  
be us'd in giving of Orders, in Christnings,  
in Sickness, and, if I am not mistaken, in  
Marriages? By which means, as they pil-  
lage the Clergy, so these make Reprizals on  
the Laity, by putting what Price they please  
on this inestimable Liquor.

5. In a word, nothing is plainer, than  
that when a Set of Men can persuade  
People they are necessary to their eternal  
Salvation, they may so easily work on  
their Fears and Superstitions, as by de-

grees to be Masters of whatever they possess ; especially if they are capable of *Receiving every thing, and Parting with nothing*, and have frequent Opportunities, not only in publick but in private, even when Men are a dying, to persuade 'em that what is given to the Church (meaning themselves) is given to God, and is the likeliest way to atone for their Sins : And consequently the confining the Administration of Ecclesiastical Affairs to a particular Set of Men, who disclaim receiving their Authority from the Community either Collective or Representative, is the worst and most grievous of all Monopolys, and which must render us the Laity what we are suppos'd to be in *Scioppius's* Definition of a Church, *A Stall, or Herd, or Multitude of Beasts and Asses ; and that they (the Priests) bridle us, they saddle us, they harness us, they spur us, they lay Yokes and Burdens upon us.*

6. The Romish Clergy, seeing what Advantages are to be got by such Ecclesiastical Monopolys, have not only increas'd the Number of the Sacraments, and made their Validity to depend on their being administer'd by one of the Monopolizers ; but to create a greater Reverence for him, suppose his very Intention necessary : and knowing that increasing their Fraternity is listing Soldiers against the State, as having the same common Interest of enslaving the People, they raise infinite Numbers of 'em, to the unspeakable Oppression of the Commonwealth, which the Magistrate knows not how to hinder, having foolishly allow'd



allow'd 'em an Independent Power in or-Chap. 8.  
daining Ecclesiasticks: A sure Foundation  
for carrying their Authority to the highest  
pitch, having it then in their power to or-  
dain those who shou'd be for aggrandizing  
their own Order, to the Oppression of the  
Civil as well as Religious Libertys of the  
People. And what cannot a continu'd Suc-  
cession of such Men bring about on a Super-  
stitious Laity, ready to receive whatever  
they tell 'em relating to their own Power,  
for Heavenly Truths?

7. How certain a Method to enslave the  
State a Monopoly of the Power of Ex-  
communication is, I need not here men-  
tion, having already spoken sufficiently on  
that Head: and it can be as little doubted  
that the believing the Absolution of a  
Priest necessary to the obtaining Pardon of  
Sin, must have the same effect. Our King  
*Henry* cou'd not obtain Absolution for the  
Murder of *Becket*, tho own'd to be done  
without his Privy, but by absolutely disan-  
nulling, according to the Cant of those  
Times, the wicked Statutes of *Clarendon*,  
and all other ill Customs obtruded on God's  
Holy Church. The late King of *Spain*, as  
'tis said, being forc'd by Cardinal *Portocarrero*,  
on pain of having Absolution deny'd him, to  
sign a Will, as contrary to his Inclinations,  
as it was to the Interest of *Spain*, and to all  
Justice and Equity, is a fatal Proof of this;  
and which alone one wou'd think sufficient,  
if not to open the Eyes of the Popish Laity,  
yet to hinder Protestants from believing  
any such Power in their Priests.

8. Had

8. Had the Clergy an Independent Power to oblige People to do Penance, this wou'd affect their Propertys as well as Persons, and by degrees subject both to Them; since it wou'd be easy for 'em, not only to impose such Penance as People wou'd be glad to commute for Mony, but such as directly affects their Propertys. A notable Instance we have of this in the *French* Bishops forbidding *Lewis the Godly*, Anno 833. by way of Penance, to meddle again with Secular Affairs, that is, to re-assume the Crown they had depriv'd him of, &c.

9. I need not insist on Particulars, to prove how destructive 'tis to the Commonwealth for the Clergy to pretend to any Privileges or Powers they receive not from the People or their Representatives; because, as 'tis plain from Scripture as well as Reason, that a *Kingdom divided in it self cannot stand*, so 'tis as plain that they who are for setting up more than one Independent Power (the only way a Kingdom can be divided) do endeavour its Ruin and Destruction, and therefore ought to be treated as Publick Enemies. Nor will the Distinction of Civil and Ecclesiastical at all mend the Matter, since two such Sovereigns must, as has been already prov'd, necessarily clash with one another, and destroy the Society by confounding each other's Power. How fatal the Clergy's endeavouring at an Independent Power is, the Histories of those Places, where they have most prevail'd, make very evident:  
for





" say, that the reason why the Inhabi-  
 " tants of that Country are reduc'd to such  
 " a degree of Misery in spite of all the  
 " Bounty of Nature, is from the share the  
 " Priests have in the Government; and  
 " that not only in the Pope's Territorys,  
 " but in all the other Courts of *Italy*,  
 " where they have the main stroke. They  
 " will tell you, That Priests have not  
 " Souls big enough for Government; That  
 " they have both a Narrowness of Spi-  
 " rit, and a Sourness of Mind, which does  
 " not agree with the Principles of human  
 " Society: nor have they those Compas-  
 " sions for the Miserable with which  
 " wise Governors ought to temper their  
 " Counsels; and that Unrelentingness of  
 " Heart seems to belong to that sort of  
 " Men.

13. This Character too well agreeing  
 with High-Church of all Denominations,  
 must chiefly be imputed to the Thoughts  
 they entertain of their own Spiritual Pri-  
 vileges and Powers; which make 'em look  
 down with Contempt on the Laity, whom  
 they cannot think to be more above Brutes  
 by their *Reason*, than they are above them  
 by their *Spiritualitys*: and therefore 'tis no  
 wonder (Spiritual Pride filling 'em with in-  
 supportable Insolence) that they use the Peo-  
 ple as Animals of an inferior Rank, and have  
 no other regard for them than to make 'em,  
 as they are sometimes freely call'd, *Asini ad*

*Case of the portanda onera Clericorum*, or according to  
*Regale*, 1<sup>st</sup> the Phrase of a late Celebrated Author, the  
*Ed. p. 207. Beasts of the People.*

14. Dr. Burnet observes in how much Chap. 8.  
better Condition the Subjects of the Repub-  
lick of *Venice* are than those in most other *Letters of*  
Popish Places: but then he likewise re- *Travels.*  
marks, That the Senate is as really the Su-  
preme Governor over Ecclesiastical Persons,  
as the Kings of *England* have pretended to  
be in their Dominions since the Reforma-  
tion; and the very Patriarch of *St. Mark*  
has no more Power than the Senate is pleas'd  
to allow him.

An excellent Author makes the same *Pres. to the*  
Remarks on the other Republicks in *Italy*, Account  
and says, "The Reason why they have of *Den-*  
" so well preserv'd their Liberty is, that mark.  
" they keep their Ecclesiasticks within  
" bounds, and make use of that natural  
" Wit, which Providence and a happy Cli-  
" mate have given 'em, to curb those, who  
" if they had Power, wou'd curb the whole  
" World.

15. To which let me add, that the only  
Reason why the Regular Clergy are more  
dangerous to any Society than the Secular  
(which thinking Men among the Papists as  
well as Protestants own) is upon the account  
of being less dependent on the State, and  
consequently readier upon all occasions to  
act against it.

16. The great Advantage the Protestant  
have above Popish Nations is, That the  
Power of the Clergy is more reduc'd a-  
mong 'em; by which means, and not by  
any difference in Speculative Matters, they  
are in proportion more Rich and Populous,  
And 'tis evident, their Happiness, in com-  
paring

paring one with another, holds an exact Proportion with the degree of Dependency they keep their Clergy in.

Is not *Holland*, from being one of the most beggarly Provinces in the World, become the most flourishing and most populous Spot upon Earth? And there we see the Power of the Clergy at so low an ebb, that they are not able to set on foot Persecution, or any other of their darling Methods, by which a Nation is render'd thin, poor and miserable.

17. Next to *Holland* and the other *United Provinces*, may not *England* be reckon'd in the best and most flourishing Condition? And have they not, next to them, the Clergy most in subjection, having always been most jealous of the Clerical Usurpations?

And not without good reason, since the Danger of losing their Libertys has been greater or less, according as the Clergy have had more or less Power; for which reason, upon the Reformation, the Wisdom of the Nation did all that was possible to hinder them from pretending to an Independency: easily foreseeing, if that obtain'd, the Nation wou'd quickly be in as great, if not a greater degree of Ecclesiastical Slavery, than when under the Popes, who living at so great a distance, cou'd not carry on their Designs so well, as if on the Spot; and their Power might be more easily evaded. And accordingly we see their Legates frequently prevented from coming over, and their Bulls from being publish'd.



18. The Bishop of *Sarum* observes (and Chap. 8. 'tis well worth considering) "That it was out of fear of the Bishops assuming more Power than the Popes, that the Princes of *Europe* came to an Agreement with 'em in Ecclesiastical Matters: for upon their being long at *Avignon*, and the great Schisms afterwards at *Rome*, the Councils began to pretend that the Power of governing the Church was in them: and they declar'd that both Popes and Princes, who shou'd attempt to hinder their frequent Meetings, were fallen from their Dignity; and they carry'd it so far, as to make themselves Independent of the Civil Authority, particularly in the Points of Elections. This dispos'd Princes generally to enter into Agreements with the Popes, and they yielded a great deal to be protected in what they had reserv'd to themselves.

Exp. Artic.  
21. & 37.

This shows to what a height Priestcraft was carry'd, when the Supreme Powers had no way to escape the heavier Oppressions, and more insupportable Usurpations of their own Clergy, than by submitting to the Pope's milder Yoke and gentler Authority.

19. If the Laity are not now as much under the Domination of the Clergy as formerly, it must be either because the Clergy (which they have given us no cause to suspect) are become less fond of Power, or that the Laity (Experience having made 'em wiser) stand more on their guard: which they doing more in some

some places than in others, is the true reason they are not in all places alike impos'd on, even tho under the same Form of Ecclesiastical Government. 'Tis that for instance, which makes the *Hollanders*, a wise and jealous People, less Priestridden than they are in other Presbyterian Governments. And if the Clergy are more dependent in *England* than in some other Episcopal Places, it is the sole Effect of those Laws, which the Wisdom of the Nation made at the Reformation (when what they had suffer'd before was fresh in their Minds) to restrain and curb the Insolence of the Priests. Of which Laws some now not only heavily complain as a Violation of the Divine Rights of the Ecclesiasticks, but (as may be seen in the Preface) demand for themselves, in the Name of the Lord, greater Powers than the Popes were in possession of; nay, make it owing to Popery (and probably what they most dislike in it) that the Lay Powers meddle with the Election of Bishops; which must make the People again, if these Men had their Will, have recourse to the Pope to be skreen'd from the more intolerable Tyranny of their own Priests. But 'tis to be hop'd, that God will be so gracious to this Nation (which has hitherto better than most others preserv'd it self against Sacerdotal In-croachments) as to prevent their being so blinded by the Artifices of designing Men, as not to perceive their Danger before it be too late.

201 This Warning I think highly ne- Chap. 8:  
 cessary, since all such Doctrines as favour  
 the Independency of the Clergy, must, if  
 at all, be suppress'd very early. 'Tis too  
 late, when once they have been suffer'd to  
 take root, as those Princes have found to  
 their cost, who have been insulted, ill  
 us'd, and sometimes depos'd, for endea-  
 vouring to reduce their Clergy to their  
 Duty; when by the Folly and Bigotry of  
 their Priestridden Ancestors the Belief of  
 an Independent Ecclesiastical Government  
 had once obtain'd.

21. If Father *Paul* was so long since sen- *Letters in*  
 sible of the Danger this Nation was in of *English,*  
 being again Priestridden, and therefore *Pres. p. 51.*  
 expresses himself after this manner:  
 " For the *English* I am in fear; the  
 " great Power the Bishops have, tho un-  
 " der a King, makes me very jealous: for  
 " should they have an easy Prince, or an  
 " Archbishop of a high Spirit, the Kingly  
 " Power must sink by the Bishop's aspiring  
 " to an Absolute Dominion. Methinks I  
 " see in *England* the Horse bridled and sad-  
 " dled, and the old Rider, as I guess, will  
 " quickly get upon his Back: but Divine  
 " Providence over-rules all things. I say,  
 if that good Father were in such Fears  
 then, what, if now living, wou'd his Ap-  
 prehensions be? And how wou'd he adore  
 the Divine Providence, which has given such  
 a Christian Spirit to the present Archbishop  
 and most of the Bishops, who instead of  
 joining with the *Laudean* Faction in Eccle-  
 siastical Incroachments, dare provoke the  
 S Malice



Malice of a Rampant High-Church Party, by signalizing themselves in the Defence of Liberty? The very Apprehension of those fatal Consequences which their acting a contrary part wou'd have produc'd to the Protestant Religion and the Libertys of *Europe*, are enough to make one tremble who seriously considers it.

22. There's nothing all good Governors ought to be more apprehensive of, than the Notion of two Independent Powers. For if no Man can serve two Masters, but he will hate the one and cleave to the other, 'tis easy to determine which of their Independent Sovereigns Men of these Principles will cleave to. They will conclude no doubt, as we see they always do, that the Temporal Empire must give place to the Spiritual, the Profane to the Sacred; and that they who rule the Body only, and whose Province reaches to Earthly Things alone, cannot come into competition with those who govern the Soul, and whose Power extends to Heavenly Matters: which in effect is no less than declaring that upon all occasions they are ready to sacrifice the Good of the Community to the Interest of this or that, Set of Ecclesiasticks. And when Men think they are bound to play the Devil for God's sake, and their Church-Principles oblige 'em to act against the State, there can be no question they will be sufficiently active, and stick at nothing, tho' ever so fatal to the Commonwealth, when 'tis for the sake of that Church-Government, which having,

as

as they suppose, an Establishment purely Chap. 8:  
Divine, must on no account whatever undergo any Diminution or Alteration: and consequently, Men must be depriv'd of all Human Rights, rather than the Clergy lose one jot of their Divine Power; which necessarily brings in Persecution, than which nothing can be more prejudicial to the Commonwealth; since,

23. It makes a Country desolate, by rendring Property uncertain, by destroying Industry, by driving out the Inhabitants; is sure to ruin the best Subjects, the most Conscientious, and to change others into the worst, and make 'em ready to perpetrate, when the Ties of Conscience are once broken, all manner of Villanys, tho ever so destructive to the Publick. Yet these false Priests, and those they govern, are every where for forcing all People to submit to their Independent Power: And Persecution prevails according to the Influence they have in a Nation; and where this is the greatest, there they carry that to the highest degree of Cruelty upon all who dissent from 'em. And by their Principles they are oblig'd to make no difference, because they hold that all who scruple to communicate with them are out of the ordinary way of Salvation, the utmost they can say of the greatest Hereticks or Infidels. And the Reason is, because all alike by Separation disown the Clergy's Power and Government, the Test it seems by which all Offences are

try'd: and therefore whenever they pretend to indulge one sort of Dissenters rather than others, 'tis pure Design, the better to hinder 'em from joining all together for their common Safety: and I am glad to find the Quakers now sensible of this.

24. And here I can't but take notice, that tho the Heathens were more divided among themselves than the Christians, yet that did not make 'em persecute one another; nay, we find 'em persuading Christians to a mutual Forbearance: as for instance, *Themistius* a Heathen Philosopher, out of Concern for the Good of Mankind, offer'd such convincing Arguments to *Valens* the Emperor against Persecution, that it made him, in spite of all the Sollicitations of his own Clergy, put a stop for some time to his Crueltys. This is the same *Heathen* who in his Consular Oration celebrates *Jovian* for giving a *Toleration* in the Christian Religion, thereby defeating the *flattering Bishops*; a sort of Men, adds he, who *do not worship God, but the Imperial Purple*.

25. As the Heathens did not persecute one another, so they had no Wars on a Religious account. For tho some Citys in Thucydes, lib. 2. *Greece*, in making War upon the Violation or Usurpation of some Temple, or rather the Treasure contain'd therein, have call'd it a Holy War, because that was Sacred or Holy, i. e. set apart for the common Necessitys of *Greece*, whereof the Temple was only the Repository; yet that happening on Matters of Fact, and not of Faith,



Faith; in which every one was free, ought Chap. 8.  
 not to be esteem'd warring for the sake of Religion. But when the Christian Clergy came to govern the Consciences and Councils of Princes, there was nothing more frequent than Holy and Religious Wars. It must be a melancholy Prospect, to one seriously concern'd for Religion, to consider how from *Constantine's* time downward, *Christendom* has been the Scene of perpetual Wars, Massacres, Murders, Persecutions, and all manner of Violence and Villany, on pretence of extirpating Schismatics and Hereticks, Men it seems so presumptuous as not to pay an implicit Faith to the Priests who were uppermost, but who dar'd to dissent from 'em when they saw Reason for it. And the Clergy were not content only to embroil Christians with Christians, but the most active Princes were sent to fight against the *Saracens*, that they might be diverted from putting a stop to their Incroachments, who by this means gain'd an Opportunity of confounding all Things, whether Sacred or Civil, which stood in their way to Dominion.

26. Of all the numerous Wars in which the Clergy have ingag'd the World, the best Excuse they had for any, was in *Henry* the Vth's time, when it was necessary not for the getting of more Riches, but preserving what they had already got. For as a Parliament call'd by *Henry* IV. was for im-  
 Balc. f. 46.  
 ploying the Revenues of the Church to Duck. Vit.  
 serve the Necessity of the State; and in ano-  
 Chichely,  
 ther which met six years after, a Bill was P. 12, 13.  
 S 3 brought

Hall Chron.  
fol. 36.  
Fab. Par.  
7. p. 390.

brought in to the same purpose, the Commons again remonstrating that what the Clergy spent in Idleness and Luxury, wou'd be sufficient to make up the Deficiency of the publick Treasure; so in his Son's time they continu'd in the same mind; and in the second year of his Reign they press'd the depriving of the Clergy of their Revenues more eagerly than ever: Which firm and constant Resolution of the Commons, put the Clergy in a terrible Consternation; and therefore to divert the young Prince from closing with the Commons, they put him on a War with *France*. This shows what a Spirit there was in the Commons, and how unlikely such Men were, if now in being, to repeal the Statutes of *Mortmain*, or any Part thereof. But to return,

27. The Clergy were not content to sacrifice so many Millions on pretence of recovering the Holy Land, but they engag'd the Secular Powers to extirpate with Fire and Sword the only Remains of genuine Christianity, the *Albigenses* and *Waldenses*; who seal'd with their Blood their Abhorrence of all the Sacerdotal Usurpations then on foot: for the Rooting out of whom the Priests were so zealous, that they were for murdering the Catholicks mixt among those Hereticks, rather than any of 'em shou'd escape. And to encourage the scrupulous Soldiers, they told 'em, that tho they made no distinction, yet God wou'd know his own at the last day. And so zealous were our Clergy for burning the *Lollards*, that the Statute made in the second

cond Year of *Henry the Fourth* for burning Hereticks, is call'd in the Rolls, *Petitio Cleri contra Hareticos*. What Wars, Massacres and monstrous Crueltys have happen'd since on the Pretence of Religion, tho in reality for the sake of the Independent Power of this or that Set of Ecclesiasticks, is as endless to recount, as 'tis melancholy to consider that there's no likelihood of preventing 'em, till the Laity cease to be govern'd by the Clergy, or the Clergy renounce their Pretences to such a Power; the promoting of which has done more Mischief to Human Societys, than all the gross Superstitions of the Heathens, who were no where ever so stupid as to entertain such a monstrous Contradiction as two Independent Powers in the same Society; and consequently their Priests were not capable of doing so much Mischief to the Commonwealth as some since have been.

28. What can be more destructive to the Publick Interest, than prohibiting such Numbers as those they call Religious in most places are, from marrying? which was chiefly done for these two Reasons, that whatever Riches were got by any of their Number, might be continu'd amongst 'em, and that the State might have no Pledges of their Fidelity, as Wife and Children are the only remaining Pledges, where the Person and Estate are exempt: Which made unnatural Lusts so frequent and publick, that *St. Bernard* in a Sermon preach'd to the Clergy of *France*, affirm'd

*Burnet's*  
*Exp. p. 336.*



Sodomy to be so common in his time, that Bishops with Bishops liv'd in it.

29. That Men shou'd think there was a mighty Holiness in their Celibacy, they persuaded 'em that the Height of Spiritual Perfection consisted not in regulating, but extinguishing their natural Inclinations: whereas the Desire of propagating the Species being by the Divine Wisdom the most strongly implanted in Man, next to that of his own Preservation, abstaining from it must be such a Crime as is exceeded only by refusing to preserve one's own Being; and on some Considerations greater, since This prevents the Existence of an Immortal Soul, That only dissolves the Union between it and the Body; and both equally wou'd, with a few years difference only, put an End to the Race of Mankind; the only Reasons of the moral Turpitude of unnatural Lusts. And yet notwithstanding these and all other Reasons for increasing the Number of Inhabitants in every Nation, the Clergy did strongly discourage Matrimony, by representing a single State infinitely more acceptable to God; nay, made second Marriages little better than Adultery, since they who were guilty of 'em were not only to do Penance, but to be for a time excluded from Communion. And one of the Councils of *Toledo* declares, " That whosoever shou'd  
 " presume to violate their Decree against  
 " second Marriages, tho a King, shou'd be  
 " cut off from all Communion with Chris-  
 " tians, and be deliver'd up to be burnt  
 " in

" in a Fire of Brimstone in Hell with the Chap. 8.  
 " Devil. And,

The Clergy had been bound as early as the Council of *Nice* to part with their Wives, had not *Paphnutius* prevail'd on that *Socrat. l. 1.* Synod to change their Sentiments: and *c. 11.* *Constantine* who was intirely govern'd by the *Ibid.* Bishops, not only repeal'd those excellent Laws made by the Commonwealth in favour of Matrimony, but gave no small Privilege to Celibacy.

30. A State suffers not so much by the loss of a Member, as by his living idly; because he then is not only useless, but a Burden. For one to contribute nothing to the Subsistence of others, and yet expect they should maintain him, is contrary to the Rule of doing as one wou'd be done unto, and a very gross Immorality. And yet the Clergy represented nothing so meritorious as such a Life, on pretence of retiring from the World, and dedicating one's self to the Service of God; whereas we can no otherwise serve God, who wants nothing, than as we assist one another: And Religion, properly speaking, was not made for God, who being infinitely happy in Himself, receives no Advantage or Disadvantage by what we do, but for our selves, to oblige us to do all those Dutys in which our common Happiness consists. And 'tis not Solitude, but Conversation which civilizes Men, and teaches 'em to subdue their Passions, which in Monasticks and recluse Persons are most strong and violent; and they are generally

as

as great a Burden to themselves as to the Publick, and frequently do that Justice on themselves which such a Life deserves. And yet how quickly was the Empire overrun with prodigious Numbers of these idle Drones, who the better to cheat the World, took to themselves the Name of *Religious*? But had the Empire maintain'd only the tenth part of so many disciplin'd Troops, as it did of Religious of both Sexes, it might easily have subdu'd all its Enemies. But while the People were continually harass'd by Persecutions, and by maintaining such Numbers of lazy Ecclesiasticks, and were oblig'd, on pretence of honouring dead Folks, to spend a great many days in Idleness; and Marriages were not only forbid the Clergy and Religious, but discountenanc'd in the Laity; and Superstitions, injurious to the Publick, daily increas'd; 'tis no wonder that the Empire became an easy Prey to the *Barbarians*, as little acquainted with the Rules of War, or true Military Discipline, as they were with Civil Arts and Sciences.

31. Other false Religions were generally set up by some Politick Legislators, for the Support of their Government: but the Superstition which upon the Ruin of Christianity was brought in by Popes and Prelates in favour of their Independency, has suffer'd no Orders or Maxims to take place, which might make a Nation wise, honest or wealthy; but has in a manner destroy'd all the good Principles and Morality left us by the Heathens, and introduc'd  
impoli-



impolitick, sordid and wicked Notions, Chap. 8.  
by which they subjected the Christian World to themselves. It wou'd almost astonish a wise Man to imagine how these Men shou'd acquire a Power so destructive of the Christian Religion, and pernicious to the Interest of Mankind, did he not consider, that for many Ages together they have been on the Catch, and were a form'd united Party against the Purity of Religion, and the Interest of Civil Societys, which are inseparable; and likewise the use they made of the blind Devotions of the People, especially of the Northern Nations, and of the Avarice and Ambition of Christian Princes.

32. What is it has made the Doctrine of unconditional Obedience to the Will of a single Person, which on no account whatever may be resisted, to be preach'd up so much of late, unless that Arbitrary Power renders Men very ignorant and very superstitious; and gives 'em mean and abject Thoughts; and consequently makes 'em ready to submit to whatever the Ecclesiasticks are pleas'd to impose upon 'em? Nor is it in the nature of things to be otherwise: for where People are so press'd in their Circumstances, that they have little leisure to examine Matters of Religion in private, nor dare debate 'em freely in Conversation, much less publish their Thoughts; and the Pulpits ring with nothing so much as Implicit Belief and Obedience: There, I say, 'tis impossible but Mens Understandings must be debas'd to such a degree, as to be

be ready to embrace the most absurd Opinions for Divine Truths, whenever a designing Priesthood shall pronounce 'em such.

And therefore 'tis no wonder that the Independent Power of the Clergy (Slavery of Body and Mind being inseparable) increases proportionably to the Civil Tyranny the People groan under.

33. Nature makes not a greater difference between Man and Brute, than Government does between Man and Man: That which is free, always causes Light and Knowledge in the World; which must confound Priestcraft, a Bird of Night which flees the open day. On the contrary, that which is arbitrary, so cramps Peoples Understanding, that as it never did, so it never can serve to any other use in Religion than to produce Superstition and Priestcraft in abundance.

And as Men are most ignorant under such a Government, so the blind Deference they pay the Priests, is in exact proportion to the Ignorance they labour under.

Of this the old Lord *Hallifax* was not insensible, when he told Dr. *Echard*, " That he had not in his Book of the Contempt of the Clergy hit on the true Reason of it, viz. the Knowledge of the Laity: To which the Doctor, as 'tis said, readily reply'd, " That, God be thank'd, there was Ignorance enough still among the Laity to support the Authority of the Clergy.

34. 'Tis not without cause, that many Priests have such an Aversion to Free Governments, since all useful Learning and Knowledge is deriv'd from them. 'Twas this that made all ingenious Arts and Sciences flourish so wonderfully in *Greece* and *Rome*. But as Arbitrary Power prevail'd, these decreas'd, and Ignorance and Barbarity increas'd; of which the Writings of the Fathers are a sufficient Demonstration. And 'tis in some measure due to the Tyranny they liv'd under, that they are full of so many absurd Notions, and ridiculous Superstitions.

35. The Slavery under which the Jews were bred in *Egypt*, made 'em so prone to Idolatry, and all manner of Superstition, that a continu'd Series of Miracles was scarce able to reclaim 'em. And their Understandings were deprav'd to such a degree on their coming out of the Land of Bondage, that they were not capable of a Spiritual Religion; so that the Laws God gave 'em, were in a great measure accommodated to their gross and carnal Apprehensions.

36. If the Clergy do not find their Interest in promoting Tyranny, what's the reason that if a Prince is so very weak as to be govern'd by them, they put him on violent and arbitrary Methods, till he either ruins himself, or, which is worse, his Country? And we need not go abroad for Examples; since this unhappy Nation in the memory of Man has felt two fatal Instances of it, by the Court's being bigotted



to such a degree in the Reigns of both Father and Son, as to endeavour to subvert the Civil Constitution for the sake of Church, tho each Court meant a different Church. So that 'tis all one of what Persuasion they are, whether a *Laud* or a *Peters*, who have the Management of the *Bigotted Prince*, since the People as well as the Prince are in like danger of being undone.

37. That this was the Ruin of King *James*, is fresh enough in our Memory; and we need go no further to prove this the chief cause of his Father's unhappy Suffering, than a Book lately publish'd in his Vindication: which (tho printed so many years after, and in all likelihood with more Partiality than the Author himself was guilty of) plainly enough discovers that those unnatural Wars were occasion'd by the Usurpations of High Church; who to maintain the Pomp and Power of their Hierarchy, put the Court upon such oppressive and arbitrary Measures as were insupportable to the best-natur'd People in the World.

From this Conduct of the High-flown Clergy, some have taken the Liberty to compare a High-Church Priest in Politicks to a Monkey in a Glass-shop, where as he can do no good, so he never fails of doing Mischief enough.

38. The more inclin'd Princes are to Religion, the greater is the Danger, if they are not able to distinguish between That and Superstition, of their being influenc'd by the Clergy to act against the Publick Good.

• What

What a contemptible vile Character has Chap. 8.  
the Popish Queen *Mary*, and how odious  
is her Memory to the Nation! And yet  
she was very good-natur'd in her self, as  
well as extremely devout: but not being  
able to see thro Priestcraft, and delivering  
her self up to the Conduct of her Clergy,  
they quickly made her put off the Tender-  
ness of her Sex, and become cruel and  
bloody, as well as ungrateful and false to  
those who were most instrumental in  
placing the Crown on her Head. Where-  
as her Sister, as she was no Bigot herself,  
so none of her Counsellors were that way  
inclin'd. And how Happy, Great and Glo-  
rious was *England* made by her Conduct!  
which reduc'd the Power of *Spain* so low,  
that she became absolute Sovereign of the  
Seas; the *Dutch*, tho increasing in Trade,  
being sufficiently bridl'd by those Towns  
she had in the Heart of their Country;  
and the *French* not so much as daring to  
build a Man of War in the Ocean without  
her leave. So that She left the Nation in a  
Condition of being Masters of the Trade  
and Riches of the Universe, and of giving  
what Laws they pleas'd to the remotest  
Shores; for which nothing is dearer to a  
grateful People than her Immortal Memo-  
ry: Whilst some Priests, tho they think no  
Commendation too large for those, who  
by their Bigotry and Folly have hazarded  
the very Being of the Nation, will scarce  
allow her a good Word; because she wou'd  
not indulge their Independency, but took  
from 'em the Means of supporting it, viz. a  
great

great part of those Church-Lands which were spar'd by her Father and Brother; in the latter of whose Reigns, tho Popery was abolish'd, and the true Religion establish'd, yet the famous *Heylin* upon the same Reasons represents his Death as a seasonable Mercy to the Church, so much does he prefer That to Religion.

39. In Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign there was no Notion of Passive Obedience, to hinder her from affording her Assistance to the *French* Protestants, who took Arms in Defence of their Religion and Libertys; or from protecting the Infant States of *Holland* against the Tyranny of *Spain*. But by the Prevalency of Folly and Bigotry we had been since reduc'd to the last Extremity, had it not been for the late happy Revolution; which rescu'd us from Tyranny and Priestcraft, and among other innumerable Blessings, has given us a Queen, who treads in the steps of that Glorious Princess; who is now the Support and Protectress of distress'd Princes and distress'd Subjects; who by extending her Favour to all her People, is as happy in her Government at home, as successful in her Conquests abroad; who can distinguish True Religion from Priestcraft, and will not suffer her Power to be made subservient to the ill Purposes of a Party, whose restless Malice is never to be satisfy'd, without treading on the Necks of all who are not as bigotted as themselves. With what Zeal did this Party come in to all the Measures those Courts which aim'd at Arbitrary Power and



and Popery? But since the present Court Chap. 8:  
 has nothing so much at heart as securing  
 the *English* Libertys and Protestant Religion  
 against the Power of the *French* Tyrant,  
 grown so formidable by means of that  
 Prince whom these Men in a manner ador'd,  
 they take all occasions to fly in the Face of  
 the Government. So that the great Strug-  
 gle at present is for Liberty and the Pro-  
 testant Religion, against *French* Tyranny,  
 a Popish Successor, and Popery it self: On  
 one side are the Queen, Lords and Com-  
 mons, and all the sober and sensible Part of  
 the Nation; on the other side, those who  
 have been poison'd with wicked Principles  
 in their Education; or in other words,  
 those whom the Wisdom of the Nation  
 declares to be *malicious Incendiarys, spiteful  
 and dangerous Enemy's to the Church and State;  
 and who to cover their own Disaffection to the  
 present Establishment and Administration, en-  
 deavour to distract the People with unreasonable  
 and groundless Distrusts and Jealousys.*

41. The Papists are not so blind as  
 in several places not to perceive how  
 destructive the Principles of the Priests  
 are to Government, and therefore do what  
 they can to fence against it. The *Venetians*, Burnet's  
 for instance, are so very jealous of all Church- Letters,  
 men getting into their Publick Council, that as  
 a Noble Venetian by going into Orders loses  
 his Right of voting in the Publick Councils;  
 so when any of them are made Cardinals, the  
 whole Kindred and Family must, during their  
 Lives, withdraw from the Great Council, and  
 are incapable of all Preferments. By such  
 T means

means as these this wise State has longer preserv'd it self than any ever yet did. But,

42. Their Jealousy of Ecclesiasticks does not carry them so far as it does the little Republick of *Norcia*, which the more effectually to shut out the Priests from having any thing to do in their Government, makes every one who can write or read incapable of having a share in it.

By this extraordinary Caution, which they most religiously observe, tho they live in the Pope's Territories, and within twenty five Miles of *Rome*, they preserve the Power of making Laws, and of chusing their own Magistrates.

43. 'Tis not Popery as such, but the Doctrine of a blind Obedience, in whatsoever Religion found, which is the Destruction of the Liberty, and consequently of the Happiness of any Nation. And he who takes a View of the Protestant Countrys abroad, which have lost their Libertys even since they chang'd their Religion for a better, will be convinc'd of this.

In the Protestant Countrys of the *North*, as the Author of the *Account of Denmark* (a Book much the best of its kind which has been written for many Ages) observes, "the Principles and Doctrine of the Clergy are those of Unlimited Obedience; and thro the Authority they have with the common People, Slavery seems to be more absolutely establish'd there than in *France* it self, and in effect is more practis'd.

44. And

44. And 'tis not only since those Princes Chap. 8.  
became Absolute, that these Doctrines have  
been preach'd, but it was chiefly owing  
(as this Author observes) to the Clergy,  
that they became so, as well as that they  
are like to continue so. And he makes  
the same Remark concerning *Muscovy*,  
“ That as the Government is as Tyranni-  
“ cal as in any of the Eastern Monarchys,  
“ so 'tis the Priests who have very much  
“ contributed, not only to the keeping,  
“ but to the making it so.

45. And if these Protestant Kingdoms  
have yet preserv'd their Libertys when all  
others are enslav'd, 'tis not owing to those  
Clergymen who did their utmost to destroy  
the best Constitution in the World, by  
preaching up Unlimited Obedience to the  
Will of a Limited Monarch, and who by  
the Influence they had over the Minds of  
the People, had so prepar'd 'em for Sla-  
very, that had King *Charles* been suffer'd to  
live, or had not his Brother tolerated the  
Dissenters, in all probability we shou'd have  
been in no better Condition than the Pro-  
testants in the *North*.

46. If one considers by what means *Eu-  
rope*, which not long since was for the most  
part free, lost its Liberty, he will find that  
the enslaving People's Minds made way  
for that of their Bodys; the Education of  
Youth, on which is laid the very Founda-  
tion-Stones of Liberty, being committed  
to the sole Management of such as made  
it their business to undermine it. And  
as Printing and some other Accidents occa-



sion'd in the Laity Light and Knowledg, always fatal to Priestcraft; so the Ecclesiasticks doubl'd their Force for establishing Tyranny, as most effectual to reduce 'em to their pristine Ignorance and Superstition: not that they themselves believ'd one tittle of their enslaving Doctrines; since there are few of 'em who cannot upon occasion as unanimously preach them down, as ever they preach'd 'em up; and when they find a Prince becomes the common Parent of all his Subjects, and prefers the Good of his Country before their separate Interest, then they can run from one Extreme to another, and have no more regard for his Prerogative than at other times for the Peoples Libertys; thinking, by breaking the Ballance of the Constitution, to bring things into Anarchy and Confusion, which naturally ends in the Tyranny of a single Person. In other cases, their Interest obliges 'em directly to promote Tyranny, as the likeliest way to lord it over the Laity.

47. Tyrants are always so advantageous to an Ambitious Priesthood, that they even know how to turn their Qualms of Conscience (which the greatest are not sometimes without) to the detriment of the Publick. For then they will not fail to persuade 'em, that if they act for the Good of the Church, by increasing their Power and Riches, and by persecuting all Schismatics and Hereticks (*viz.* all who dare use their Reason, and not Blindly submit

submit to them) they shall not only atone for all their Crimes, but merit Heaven by those glorious Actions. And Persecution agreeing with their violent Tempers, they will easily comply with it (especially when they are to partake in the Spoil) by which means they become ten times greater Devils than otherwise they wou'd be.

Of this the Tyrant of *France* is too signal an Example, whose single Bigotry, by the dextrous Management of the Priests, has made him so great a Monster of Cruelty and Oppression.

48. And History informs us, that no Princes have been more insupportable, and done greater Violence to the Commonwealth, than those the Clergy have honour'd for Saints and Martyrs; who after they had rob'd other People, thought to make amends by letting the Church share in the Spoil. And 'tis from such Benefactors the Priests have got the greatest part of their Riches.

On the contrary, the greatest Patriots who oppos'd their Incroachments, have been represented as the worst of Men, and traduc'd by a thousand Lyes and Calumnys. So that one may be pretty certain that those Persons they rail at most, have more than an ordinary Stock of Merit, and those they commend most (to say no worse) no Pretence at all to it.

49. The Mischiefs which have all along attended this Doctrine of the Independent

Power of the Clergy, are so very numerous, and so very great, that what *Amos* the Prophet in another sense speaks of the Lord, may be fitly enough apply'd to them, *Is there any Evil in the City, and have they not done it?* there being no Christian Nation which has not been frequently embroil'd upon this occasion. Innumerable have been the Quarrels of the restless Clergy with Kings and Emperors about the *Right of Investiture, the Exemption of Clerks, the Protection of Sanctuaries, the Cognizance of Civil as well as Ecclesiastical Causes*, and such-like, all occasion'd by a Pretence to an Independent Hierarchy; for the promoting of which, they have not boggl'd at any Means, tho ever so vile, till by degrees (for what cannot such a Confederacy do?) they made the Christian World submit to them. Yet then they cou'd not agree among themselves about sharing their Usurpations, but at last the Bishop of *Rome* prevail'd over the rest, and became the Head of this Independent Society; and then the Civil Powers had scarce any thing left 'em, except the Honour of being his Executioners, in murdering all who wou'd not own his Supremacy, with all the other Pickpocket Doctrines of Popery. And to what a miserable Condition *Christendom* was then reduc'd, is too notorious to be here mention'd.

50. Nor have things succeeded much better since the Breach with *Rome*: for no sooner was the Pope thrown off, than too many



many of the Protestant Clergy set up for an Chap. 8.  
Independent Power; and quarrel'd as fiercely  
about it, as ever the Patriarchs of *Rome* and  
*Constantinople* did.

To go no further than this Island, have not the People by turns been haras'd and persecuted, both by the Episcoparians and Presbyterians; too many of the Clergy of both sorts, as they had Power, endeavouring to get all Dissenters treated with the utmost Rigor? And how much that Persecuting Spirit in one of 'em contributed to the Civil Wars, is too well known to be here mention'd. And after the Restoration, no Experience making some Men wiser, I desire to know whether the Conduct of the Clergy was any ways alter'd for the better, or their persecuting Humour abated, tho by it they became Tools to the Papists; of which they were so sensible in the Day of Distress, that the most Eminent among 'em, with the general Approbation of the rest, made solemn Declarations of easing their Protestant Brethren, when Providence shou'd put it in their power. Yet when the Convocation in 89 had by the Favour of Heaven an Opportunity of performing those Promises; was there not a Party among 'em who resolv'd to keep Faith as little with Schismatics, as some former Councils with Hereticks? And therefore with scorn they rejected all Terms of Accommodation, and thought the very recommending to 'em such Alterations in Things Indiffe-

rent, as wou'd make conforming to the Church so easy as few Protestants either at home or abroad shou'd scruple, an Affront never to be forgiven; which was the Foundation of the inveterate Malice with which that Glorious Prince, to whom we owe our Religion and Church, was to the last persecuted: Nor cou'd the Bishops, even those who had signaliz'd themselves in defence of the Church, receive better Quarter.

51. It may be worth inquiring, whether the Difference between the several Sects in *England* has not hinder'd the Clergy from making the best of a Doctrine, which, if carry'd to the height, gives 'em greater Power than the Popish Priests enjoy; and if by their united Force Slavery had been brought into the Church, whether the State cou'd long remain free.

52. Some go further, and question whether our Religion and Civil Libertys wou'd have been safe, if there had been a better Understanding even between the Clergy of the same Church; that is, if the Bishops and Moderate Churchmen wou'd have join'd in the Methods of High-Church. If so, it affords a very melancholy Consideration, *That in the best-constituted Church things are brought to that pass, that the greatest Good which can be expected of the Ecclesiasticks is from their Divisions.* This is certainly so, where nothing less than an Independent Power will satisfy 'em, for then a Union amongst 'em is the least desirable thing in the

the World: and they who wou'd compass it by destroying the Toleration, are making Rods for themselves and Posterity; because as People have been, so the Presumption, is, they always will be miserably ridden by the Priests, when they are closely link'd together in promoting their Independent Power. Chap. 8.

53. The Jesuits teach us what a small number (for so they are in comparison of the whole Body of the Ecclesiasticks) by being strictly united among themselves, can effect; for tho' they are hated in all Places of their own Religion, yet they govern in all.

54. If the Clergy from so low a Rise as subsisting on the Alms of the People, cou'd possess themselves of immense Riches and Power, and notwithstanding so many Divine Prohibitions, lord it over their Brethren as they had a mind to; are they now so low, that they cannot, unless hinder'd by one another, become as formidable as ever?

What cannot such a Confederacy, on pretence of Religion, bring about, when most pay a blind Deference to what they teach? And of those few who do not, who is there so regardless of his own Safety, as by opposing their self-interested Doctrines to create to himself such a number of relentless Enemys, to whom the Motto of *Nemo me impune lacessit* does most properly belong? And therefore those Divisions which are amongst 'em cannot be to



to the prejudice of Mens Civil or Religious Libertys.

55. The Laity of the Romish Religion have receiv'd no small Benefit by the Protestants separating from the Church of *Rome*, in causing their Priests to retrench a great deal of an exorbitant Power, which was daily increasing, and must long before now have grown to such a height, as to have divested the Laity of all Property, and made 'em no better than *Hewers of Wood and Drawers of Water* to their Clergy-Landlords, and which must inevitably happen, if ever the Clergy are again united under one Head. So that 'tis the Interest of Popish Princes, if they have no mind to be in greater subjection to their Priests, not to endeavour to destroy Protestantism.

56. Among the different Sects, who are there so blind as not to see that all Priests besides their own are for enslaving the People; and never fail to do it, when they have got Power enough in their Hands? And yet how few are there who are not for giving their own Priests all the Power they can; as if the Quarrel had not been against being Priestridden, but only against being so by this or that Set of Ecclesiasticks? And we have not a few Instances of Men who have left the Presbyterian way they were bred in, and rail at the Tyrannical Power of Classes and Synods; and yet at the same time come into all the extravagant Notions of High-Church; which is running from one Phana-ticism to another.

57. As

57. As the High-Churchmen of any Sect, Chap. 8. if a Prince has a mind to trample on the Laws and Libertys of the People, will always be ready to join with him, provided he can make them believe he will set up their pretended *Jure Divino* Church-Government; so 'tis impossible they shou'd love a Prince who makes the general Good of his Country his Care, and will not allow one Sect to put Hardships on another. Then to be sure he shall be represented as one who has no regard to Religion, or Kindness to the Establish'd Church; tho both owe their Preservation to him, or tho he has given no inconsiderable Part of his Revenue for the Support of the Clergy in it. Which tho her Majesty has been graciously pleas'd to do, yet, as she assures us from the Throne, there have not been wanting some so very malicious as to suspect her Affections to the Church, and to represent it in great Danger under her Government; and Prayers have been made from the Pulpit in the Loyal University of *Oxford*, to continue the Throne free from the Contagion of Schism. And tho the late King so seasonably rescu'd the Church from the all-devouring Jaws of Popery, and took such care of it afterwards as to prefer those Men to the most considerable Stations, who in former Reigns had signaliz'd themselves in its Defence, none being advanc'd by him, except a Monster or two of Ingratitude, who wou'd not have deserv'd their Posts in the most Primitive Times; and tho his indefatigable Zeal was not satisfy'd with

Mather's  
Serm. on  
May 29.  
1705.

with this, but he resolv'd to secure the Church from all Danger for the future, and therefore not only gave his Royal Assent to a Law for excluding all Popish Princes from the Throne for ever, but likewise provided that the Protestant Successors shou'd be Members of the Establish'd Church: yet these and several other Laws for its Advantage, he having done more for it than any Prince before did, can't hinder the Highflers from basely reviling his Sacred Memory, and representing him as an Enemy to the Church.

58. If other Princes, according to the Pattern lately set 'em by ours, wou'd endeavour to hinder all Usurpations over the Minds and Consciences of the People (the constant Prayer as well as Practice of the late King) they wou'd make Mankind much happier than at present they are. But this can never be expected, while the Clergy who claim an Independent Power, have so great an Influence over 'em; because their Interest and that of the People being as opposite as Light and Darknes, Knowledg and Ignorance, Religion and Superstition, Freedom and Slavery, Plenty and Poverty, they will continually be carrying on a uniform and steddly Design against the Libertys and Understandings of the People, whom they can't render too low, abject and wretched for their imposing Purposes. And the same Reason which makes 'em to be for Arbitrary Power and Persecution, things so infinitely to the Disadvantage of the Commonwealth, will engage 'em to oppose every thing that's for its Interest.

*R. Williams's Prayers, published by the Bp of Norwich.*



59. If Dissenters being concern'd in Cor- Chap. 8.  
porations for the Poor, when all they get  
by it is bestowing their Time and Mony  
in so necessary a Charity, is upon the  
Church's account to be hindred by Law,  
as was not long since attempted, what is  
there which the Church mayn't be pleaded  
in bar of?

Some indeed say, 'tis no wonder if High  
Church are not fond of Corporations for  
employing the Poor, because as the Ma-  
nagement of so troublefom and expensive  
a Business will fall to the Sober and Indus-  
trious, whom they despair to bring over  
to their Interest; so they think that will  
be apt to give 'em in all Places where these  
are erected, too great an Interest. Of this  
*Bristol* is a remarkable Instance; and the  
publishing an Account how differently  
Things are there now manag'd, from what  
they were when in the Hands of Torys,  
might not a little contribute to show the  
most prejudic'd, how unlikely any Place is  
to thrive, where High Church prevails,  
which in former Reigns was for destroying  
Trade it self, as prejudicial to its Interest:  
and there are many leud Harangues in *Par-  
ker, Goodman*, and other such like Authors,  
on that Subject.

60. What can be more for our Advan-  
tage than a General Naturalization of all,  
at least of the Reform'd Religion? And is  
not *Church* the main Obstacle to this? And  
is there not the same Objection against uni-  
ting all her Majesty's Subjects under one Le-  
gislation? Nay, is not this made use of as

an Argument to hinder even the Northern Countys from being put into a Posture of Defence; tho arming and disciplining the People in the adjacent Kingdom makes their being on their Guard highly necessary? And if High-Church is in deep Apprehension that the Church of *England* as well as the State is in danger from Arms being put into the hands of the People of *Scotland*, it must be some strange Mystery indeed which hinders 'em from being willing that the *English* People shou'd be put in a Posture of Defence, in order to prevent and repel those Dangers. And is not the same Plea urg'd with the utmost Violence against a better Union of her Majesty's Subjects at home, by allowing all who hold no Opinions prejudicial to the State, and contribute equally with their Fellow-Subjects to its Support, equal Privileges in it, and thereby making it their equal Interest to support it?

61. Do not Justice and Righteousness, by which Kingdoms flourish, demand that they who alike contribute to the Burden, shou'd alike receive the Advantage? A natural Right of which Christianity is so far from depriving Men, that no Party can do it without breaking in on the grand Rule of doing as they wou'd be done unto. How can a Government, which is willing to act for the general Good of all the People, put Hardships on any part of them, especially if they are very numerous, for doing that without which they can't be good Subjects or Citizens,

zens, viz. the worshipping God according Chap. 8.  
to Conscience? And the Good of the Na-  
tional Church, where different Sects are  
tolerated, requires this Treatment; be-  
cause then if one of 'em attempts any  
thing to its prejudice, all the rest in In-  
terest will be bound to oppose it; especially  
with us, where none of the Sects, the  
Presbyterians only excepted, are by their  
Constitution capable of becoming the  
National Church: So that all they can  
desire is to be on a level in Civil Mat-  
ters. And as no Church was ever ru-  
in'd by taking gentle Methods, so the  
contrary Course, by uniting the Sectarys,  
which that alone can do, has within the  
Memory of Man more than once destroy'd  
the National Churches both of *England* and  
*Scotland*.

62. Supposing the Good of the State is  
the supreme Law, I can, with submission,  
see no necessity for a Religious Test in Ci-  
vil Impleys (a thing unheard of till the  
times of Popery) if it not only debars the  
Government of the Assistance of all its Sub-  
jects, tho the Occasion be ever so great, but  
tends to alienate the Affections of those who  
are put under this Incapacity; since, besides  
other Inconveniencys, it represents 'em as  
Enemys to their Country, and is a mark of  
Disgrace and Infamy, as well as a badg of  
Servitude. And if a State is secure, as  
there's no instance to the contrary, where  
Justice is fairly and impartially administred,  
there can be no Alteration in the establish'd  
Mode of Church-Discipline, which is not  
made



made in a Legal way. And Discipline being, as is already prov'd, of a mutable nature, ought always to undergo such Changes as are agreeable to the Inclinations of the People; which will mainly conduce to keep the Clergy who are uppermost within bounds, a thing on which the Security of the Church highly depends, since only the Violence and Fury of the High-fliers can prejudice it.

63. If the Preservation of any Form of Ecclesiastical Discipline is the grand Law, and that is to be secur'd by Persecution, as every thing is Persecution which upon this account puts a Man in a worse Condition than his Neighbours; nothing less than Banishment or Death ought to be the Fate of all Dissenters, since any Hardship below this must turn to the prejudice of the National Church.

64. If the great Advantage, as well as Security, which both Church and State have got by the Kindness already shown to Dissenters, will not teach us to make it compleat; yet we might learn from our Enemies not to keep Distinctions among Protestants, since 'tis that by which the Papists have all along endeavour'd to ruin us; and our more restless Enemies the Jacobites have appear'd so zealous for the Occasional Conformity-Bill, that there's scarce any of 'em capable of Scribbling, who have not publish'd something on its behalf.

65. This grand Law, the Good of the Church, possess'd the Papists at a strange rate, when it cou'd bring 'em into a Gun-powder

pouder Plot: Which in probability must Chap. 8.  
have ended in their own Ruin, at least it  
was not likely to be so fatal as the *Tack*;  
which if it had succeeded in the manner as  
some Men wish'd, must have endanger'd the  
Liberty of all *Europe*, as well as the Pro-  
testant Religion both at Home and Abroad.  
But,

66. There cou'd be no Colour for a thou-  
sand Things which obtain in most Places,  
directly contrary to the Publick Good, on  
pretence of supporting this or that Form  
of Ecclesiastical Government, if Bigots did  
not blaspheme the infinite Wisdom as  
well as Goodness of God, by supposing  
his two Grand Laws inconsistent; and  
therefore are perpetually acting against  
the Publick Good on pretence of advancing  
the Honour of God: which is so far from  
being opposite to the Good of Man, that  
'tis in effect the same, since the Happier  
Men are, the more Reason they have to ho-  
nour Him who made 'em so; and the more  
they do that, the more will they observe  
those Dutys in which their mutual Happiness  
consists.

67. Religion, properly speaking, was  
not ordain'd for God's sake, who wants  
nothing, but for our own, in order to make  
us do all those Things which are for our  
general Good: Or in other words, so In-  
finite is God's Goodness, that (as I shall  
fully demonstrate in the next Part) here-  
quires nothing to qualify Mankind for their  
future, which does not tend to their pre-  
sent Happiness. And as God before the  
U Com.

Coming of Christ requir'd only moral Qualifications for People in publick Posts, so Christ never design'd the Holy Sacraments shou'd be prostituted to serve a Party; or that promoting his Church shou'd be made a Pretence to deprive People of any Privilege, to which otherwise they wou'd have a Right; and that People shou'd be brib'd by a Place to receive unworthily; or that such Stumbling-blocks, to the great Increase of Irreligion and Hypocrisy, shou'd be laid in Mens ways on a Church-account. But,

68. While Bigots think any one Form of Church-Government of Divine Appointment, the Regard to that, and those Powers the Clergy claim on pretence of it, will influence 'em in all their Actions; and they will be for preferring Men to Civil Posts, not according to their Integrity and Capacity to serve the Publick, but for their Zeal to the Church, which shall not only recommend the most Unqualify'd, but support 'em in their Employments, tho they behave themselves ever so ill, and are guilty of Cowardice or Treachery, even in such Expeditions as the Safety of the Nation depends on; while others, tho ever so Brave and Honest, shall either not be employ'd at all, or upon frivolous Pretences be laid aside.

69. Bigotry being blind to the faults of its Votarys, those who are in the French or Jacobitish Interest will endeavour to disguise their curs'd Designs on pretence of being for the Church: for then examining their former Actions, or prying too nar-



rowly into their present Conduct, shall be Chap. 8:  
 interpreted Envy to the Church; and under a seeming Zeal for That, they shall not only recommend any thing which tends to divide and embroil the Nation, but attempt to ruin those, whose Principles make 'em true Friends to the Government, and who dare oppose their pernicious Designs. So that amongst others besides profest Papists, the Church now becomes; and in the very worst way too, a Sanctuary for Ill Men and Ill Practices. And,

70. If at last the Eyes of the Government are open, and it is resolv'd to employ none, notwithstanding their Churchpretences, who betray Counsels; who endeavour to render all Designs for the Publick Good abortive, who oppose every thing tending to reduce the Enemy, strengthen the Allys, or unite the People; then the Church; if we may believe the *Memorial* which goes under its Name; is in great danger; and its Nature being very apt to rebel, the odds, it says, are vast on Nature's side: and those Enemies its Nature is to be row'd against, are they who have contributed most to the Safety of the State; as if beating the French at *Hochster*, and managing the Revenue after a most frugal and prudent manner, were such Ecclesiastical Crimes as are never to be forgiven. But,

71. High-Church can, it seems, work Miracles, and has a sort of Transubstantiating Power, which on a sudden converts a Villain into a Patriot, a French Pensioner

sioner into a true *English*-man, an Atheist into a Saint; and it makes one who never did a good Action, or ever was thought to have one good Quality (except his great Humility in condescending to the meanest Cheats, may be reckon'd such) the first Man in the foremost Rank of High-Church Champions: and it can turn a formal Blockhead into a deep Statesman, and qualify even the Author of the *Grand Tour* for the Grand Chair; and can reconcile Passive-Obedience Principles to a Revolution-Government, and the Unalterable Right of the Lineal Succession with the Abjuration Oath, and calling over the Princess *Sophia*: Nay, it can make such as ridicule the Dangers of Popery, even on a Day set apart by Law to shew the just Apprehensions of it, the best Protestants, and qualify one of 'em, notwithstanding he made *Lucifer's* Rebellion against God a less Crime than that against King *Charles*, and putting him to death worse than murdering our Saviour, to be Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation. High-Church can make the Peers Commonwealths-men, the Bishops Presbyterians, and the Lower House, which sets up for a Presbyterian Parity, and claims a Co-ordinate Power with the Bishops, the only Men for Episcopacy. Nay, what can it not do, since it can make a drawn Battel equal to the compleatest Victory, and one voted by Parliament an Enemy to the King and Kingdom, one who with other High-Church Champions was in King *James's* High Commission

mission to destroy the Church, and for secret Services had not only a Sum of Money but an extravagant Pension for Life, one who issu'd out Orders for levying Customs without Consent of Parliament (and how fairly his Accounts were kept, the Hearth-mony-book is a sufficient Proof) one who oppos'd the Abdication, the Recognition, and all those Methods which brought the Queen to the Throne; one who was against a War with *France*, and kept it off so long till the *French King* settl'd himself in his new Acquisitions: Yet he, even he, I say, such is the wonder-working Power of High Church, is the only fit Man to be Prime M——r and T——r. And if another Great Person, as the *Torys* wou'd insinuate, was once in the Interest of the Family at *St. Germans*, their railing at him now with so great bitterness is a Demonstration that he quitted it, since as long as they suppos'd he espous'd it, none was more caress'd by 'em.

72. As 'twou'd be endless to reckon up all the Miracles of this nature, so there has been a time, when the best Friends to the Constitution both in Church and State, for not coming up to the extravagant Notions of High-Church, were represented by those who were undermining both, as Fanaticks and Commonwealths-men. Then Jurys and Judges too had more regard to the Character of High-Church, than any other Consideration; and the Question seem'd not to be, who had the Right, but who was a right Churchman. And so in-



toxicated were the People with the High-flown Doctrines of those times, that our Libertys and Religion were within an ace of Ruin.

If Men make no better use of so wonderful a Deliverance than to be drawn into the same Danger on the very same Pretences, and by the very same Men, they have little reason to imagine Providence will interpose again in so extraordinary a manner.

73. These absurd Notions, relating to the Independent Power of the Clergy, had not prevail'd on so many, but for the Prejudice of Education, at a time when the Mind is capable of having any Impression so strongly stamp'd on it, that 'tis very seldom or ever after worn out. And therefore they who have any regard for the Publick, or any Concern for their own Offspring, shou'd not trust their Education with such, as instead of instilling Noble and Generous Principles into them, and teaching 'em to make the Publick Good the chief Design of their Lives, infuse in 'em a blind Zeal for the Power of the Church, as the Clergy who are uppermost call themselves; and persuade 'em to sacrifice the Good of their Country, the Libertys of the People, and every thing else which is valuable, to that Idol.

A Man who imbibes such Principles, must, as has been already shown, in a thousand Instances act like an Enemy to his Country. And the reason why the middle sort of People retain so much of their an-  
tient

tient Virtue, and are intirely in the Interest of the Nation, is because no such pernicious Notions are the Ingredients of their Education; which 'tis a sign are infinitely absurd, when so many of the Gentry and Nobility can, notwithstanding their Prepossession, get clear of 'em. Chap. 8.

74. The *Greek* and *Roman* Citizens, as they were the most passionate Lovers of their Country, and ready on all occasions to sacrifice their Lives and Fortunes for its Interest; so that was owing to the Happiness of their Education, in having such Tutors, as made it their principal business to inspire their Youth with truly Noble and Generous Notions; which being early inculcated, made such deep Impressions, that they were steddily influenc'd by them as long as they liv'd. They were so far from being persuaded, that there was an Interest distinct and separate from the State, and to be prefer'd before it, that they were taught, that the best and chiefest part of Religion consisted in promoting the Publick Good (*a*); and that those who were signally instrumental in it, shou'd enjoy hereafter the greatest Share of Happiness. And therefore 'tis no wonder, that such different Education has created in

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(*a*) Omnibus qui Patriam conservarint, adjuverint, auxerint, certum esse in coelo locum ubi beati ævo sempiterno fruuntur. Nihil enim illi Principi Deo qui omnem hunc mundum regit, quod quidem in terris fiat acceptius quam Concilia Cærusque hominum jure sociati, quæ Civitates appellantur. *Sonn. Scipionis.*

mens Minds such different Sentiments with relation to the Publick. Had Men now-a-days the same Notions early infus'd into 'em, there's no doubt it wou'd make the same lasting Impressions, and produce the same generous Effects.

75. But if *New Rome* (to mention no other Place) has so prodigiously degenerated, as to have few or none of those Noble or Social Virtues which so adorn'd the *Old*, it can be imputed to nothing (the Climate being still the same) except the different Notions which are infus'd into People in their Educations. And Priestcraft is so rank a Weed, that it will not suffer a Plant of any Virtue to grow near it. And yet who wou'd not have presum'd, but that *New Rome* shou'd have excel'd the *Old* in all manner of Virtues; since one has the Light of the Gospel, and an infinite Number of Clergymen to make it shine the brighter, and the other was in Heathenish Darknes? And yet, notwithstanding this Heathenish Darknes, the Education of their Youth was such, that (to use the words of an Author, whose Love to his Country equals any of the Ro-

*Pref. to the* mans) " it tended to make 'em as useful to  
 Account " the Society they liv'd in as possible.  
 of Den- " There they were train'd up to Exercise  
 mark. " and Labour, to accustom themselves to  
 " an active Life; no Vice was more infam-  
 " ous than Sloth, nor any Man more  
 " contemptible than him who was too  
 " lazy to do all the Good he cou'd.  
 " The Lectures of their Philosophers  
 " serv'd



“ serv’d to quicken ’em up to this; they Chap. 8.  
“ recommended above all things the Duty  
“ to their Country, the Preservation of  
“ the Laws, and Publick Liberty; subser-  
“ vient to which they preach’d up Moral  
“ Virtues, such as Fortitude, Temperance,  
“ Justice, a Contempt of Death, &c.  
“ They taught their Youth how, and  
“ when to speak pertinently, how to act  
“ like Men, to subdue their Passions, to be  
“ publick spirited, to despise Death, Tor-  
“ ments and Reproach, Riches, and the  
“ Smiles of Princes as well as their  
“ Frowns, if they stood between them  
“ and their Duty. This manner of Edu-  
“ cation produc’d Men of another stamp  
“ than appears now upon the Theatre of  
“ the World, such as we are scarce wor-  
“ thy to mention, and must never think  
“ to imitate, till the like manner of In-  
“ stitution grows again into Reputation,  
“ which in enslav’d Countrys ’tis never like  
“ to do, as long as the Ecclesiasticks, who  
“ have an opposite Interest, keep not only  
“ the Education of Youth, but the Consci-  
“ ences of old Men in their hands.

76. How wou’d the antient Philosophers,  
who by their Examples as well as Precepts  
instructed the Youth committed to their  
Care to sacrifice even their Lives for the  
Preservation of Publick Liberty; how, I  
say, wou’d they have been surpriz’d, cou’d  
they have foreseen the Conduct of our mo-  
dern Philosophers? who not content in  
being the vilest Flatterers of Arbitrary  
Power themselves, taught their Pupils,  
that

that it was an indispensable Duty to submit to Slavery and Death, rather than preserve Liberty and Life by opposing Tyranny.

The infamous School-master, who decoy'd the chief Youth of the *Falisci* his Scholars into *Camillus's* Camp, these Philosophers wou'd not have condemn'd guilty of so base a Treachery, as they wou'd those, who by a Decree which they solemnly enacted, betray'd their Pupils, the young Nobility and Gentry, into a Belief, That Men were Slaves by Nature, and that they cou'd not free themselves, how much soever they suffer'd from the Influence of Tyrants (which by the Encouragement of this Doctrine grew daily more insupportable) without running into the only worse State, that of Damnation.

77. Those Philosophers wou'd have thought the Assertors of this Doctrine, which they pretended was to prevent all Rebellion, guilty of the greatest; since it broke down all the legal Fences, subverted the whole Constitution, in making an Absolute and Unlimited Obedience due to the Arbitrary Will of One, who had no Power to suspend, repeal, or make Laws, but only put those already made in execution.

Those Philosophers wou'd have concluded, that they had no more regard to Religion than Liberty, to the Church than the State, who made it a damnable Doctrine to assert the Lawfulness of precluding the

Oxford  
Decree,  
1683.

Ibid.

the next Heir from the Right of Succession Chap. 8. to the Crown, tho they knew him to be of a Church which oblig'd him to extirpate all Protestants, who were ty'd up by this Decree from making the least Resistance.

78. I shou'd not have said so much of this Doctrine, were it not almost as current now, as when an absolute unconditional Obedience to King James was declar'd by that University as the Doctrine of the Church, which they were bound to abide by; insomuch that the publick Orator begun his Complement to the Queen after this manner: *Cum Principibus etiam Tyrannis nec in Subditorum salutem, sed exitium natis, quamvis ab iis male meritum, Obsequium tamen paratissimum debeamus prestare, & eas deosculari manus a quibus laceramur.* And the famous Author of the Character of a Low Churchman makes an unconditional absolute Passive Obedience, without any Limitation or Exception, an eternal and indispensable Truth; and laughs at applying it only to Legal Governments and Legal Methods, as a silly time-serving rebellious Distinction of Low Church, Trimming Villains, who are not, and by their Principles are oblig'd not to be, Christians. And as he makes Sir J. P——— a Hero for his Steddiness to High-Church Principles, so to recommend him the more effectually, he supposes his Adversary will “allow that the Character he has, and deserves in his Country, is, that he is an “Enemy to all Accommodations, Comprehensions, Moderation; and that he “is

University's Addr.  
to King James, 85.  
before their  
Congratulatory Ver-  
ses.

Vid. Epin-  
cion Oxo-  
niense.

P. 12.

P. 21.

P. 26.



“ is High for the *uninterrupted Succession*. But if this be the Picture of a High-Churchman, his Principles will no more preserve us from a Popish Successor, than from Slavery: and this Author must be well acquainted with High-Church Principles, being cull’d out for this Performance as the Champion of his Party, and no fault found with this his admir’d piece, except that there was not Gall enough mixt with his Ink.

Oxford  
Decree, 83.

I never heard that the University, which decreed it Damnation to exclude the next Heir, recanted that wicked Decree, tho it condemns all Self-defence, and is inconsistent with their Oaths to *K. William* and *Q. Anne*, as well as the Abjuration-Oath, and the Succession of the House of *Hanover*. Nay, does it not hang up still, or at least very lately did (not to mention other Houses) at the upper end of *Ch—Ch—Hall*, not far from the Dean’s Chair? which some say, if the Cuts of the *Oxford Almanack* had wanted explaining, wou’d have serv’d for a Key, tho not I hope to unlock any of those Reasons which influenc’d the late lower House of Convocation in the Choice of a Prolocutor. And

Epist. Ded.  
to Trithem.  
ism.

does not Dr. *S—th* say, that Decree is so justly to the Credit of that University? If Mens Actions best bespeak their Minds, and it appears thereby that some think none so fit to represent ’em, as they who agreeably to this Decree appear’d most zealous against the Revolution-Principles, by opposing the Vacancy of the Throne, the Recognition, the

Asso-

Association, the Abjuration; will not the Chap. 8.  
 ill-natur'd World entertain some Suspicion  
 that this Decree influences 'em still, espe-  
 cially when they see such things printed in  
 the *Epiniſion Oxoniense*, as reflect on the  
 late King's Title to the Crown? Was a  
 Book with such Expressions relating to the  
 late King, as *Dubique Tyranni \* instabile \* 'Tis said*  
*Imperium*, a fit Present for his Successor, *the Epithet*  
 whose Right to the Crown is on the same *at first was*  
 Foundation? *furtivum.*

79. This Conduct will be apt, I say, to  
 make Men think that some as much ad-  
 here to this Doctrine, as they do to that  
 of Persecution; for which even while  
 they endeavour to persuade the Dissenters  
 they are for preserving the Toleration in-  
 violable, they can't forbear to talk, preach,  
 and write. Is there any Discourse S—l  
 has printed, which does not declare for it?  
 Does not T—y in a Sermon preach'd be-  
 fore the University, say, That a Separation *The 30th*  
 from our Church ought to be condemn'd and *of Jan.*  
 punish'd? And whether it be Dissenters only *1704.*  
 or even some of the Bishops whom he  
 wou'd have justify'd after the Scottish manner,  
 the Reader may easily judg, as well as what  
 Principles and what Oaths he means, when  
 he supposes the Danger the Church is in to  
 flow from our going off from our old Princi- *Affize Ser.*  
 ples; and shuffling with our Consciences; our preach'd  
 trifling with Oaths, and bringing down the *before the*  
 High and Holy Name of God to our own Va- *University*  
 nity, to secure our present little inconsiderable *of Oxford,*  
 Interests. And are not these the Men who *July 19.*  
 are chosen to do Honour to a certain *1705.*  
 Uni-

University on solemn occasions? And has not the Author who answer'd Mr. *Lock's* Letters of Toleration, thought fit lately to publish, after fourteen years silence, another Letter for laying Penaltys on the Dissenters? And indeed the pains the High-Church are at to find some flaw in the Act of Toleration, and the taking all opportunitys of prosecuting those they imagine have made the least slip in observing that Act, with the immoderate Hatred of all their Brethren who are for treating the Dissenters with Moderation, give shreud Suspensions that this absurd Doctrine is still their Favourite.

80. As the best things, if corrupted, become the worst; so the Universitys cannot have too great Encouragement, while they instruct the Youth in such Principles as are for the Good of *All* her Majesty's Subjects: but if they take a quite contrary Method, and teach such Doctrines as are for the Good of none of her Majesty's Subjects except themselves, nothing can be more to the prejudice of the Publick.

What can save the Nation, if the Nobility and Gentry shou'd again be infected with the wicked Doctrines of Persecution, and of Kingly Power, taken in the most absolute sense, being of Divine Right; and that it can only be transmitted in a Descent in the Right Line; and when so transmitted, there can be no Abuse in its Exercise, for which the King can be accountable, or which the People ought not quietly



quietly to bear? And 'tis no Argument  
Some Men have chang'd their Sentiments in  
acting after a different manner with a King  
who had no such Descent.

81. If Spite, Hatred, Malice, Resent-  
ment and Revenge so far got the better of  
their Principles, as then to appear fond of  
some Laws which limited the Prerogative;  
it only shews that those Passions which are  
most Diabolical in others, are the only  
things which have the least Resemblance of  
Virtue in a Tory.

If Men can act contrary to their known  
Principles, to gratify those predominant  
Passions of Malice and Revenge; what will  
they not say or do, when in pursuit of 'em  
they have a prospect of confounding all  
Whigs, and Whiggish Notions of Liberty?  
Any thing then is to be done, every thing to  
be hazarded, rather than these shou'd prevail  
again. But,

82. As it was to defend the Church of  
*England* against the Papists, Jacobites, and  
other High-fliers, that caus'd me to engage  
in this Controversy; so none can have a  
juster Esteem for all her Clergy, who, ac-  
cording to the Doctrine of the best-consti-  
tuted Church, disown all Independency;  
and as for them who do not, I cannot do  
'em a greater Kindness than to show 'em  
the pernicious Consequences of their Error,  
and how it necessarily makes all who are  
govern'd by it guilty of the most villanous  
Practices. A Method, which as 'tis the  
most proper in it self, so 'tis what all our  
Divines use, when they write against cer-  
tain

tain Doctrines of the Church of Rome. But I need not labour to justify my self, since none can censure me, who don't withal condemn the most Approv'd of our Clergy as well as Laity. However I shall mention only two or three, and the first shall be that great Man my Lord *Clarendon*, who 'tis not doubted was the Person of Honour who writ *Animadversions upon Cressy's Fanaticism* fanatically imputed to the *Catholick Church*: He saith, " That

P. 130. " that unreasonable, inconvenient, and

" mischievous Distinction of *Ecclesiastical*

" and *Temporal*, as it exempts Things and

" Persons from the *Civil Justice* and the

" *Sovereign Authority*, and as it erects a-

" nother Tribunal, and sets up another

" distinct *Sovereign Jurisdiction* Superior

" and Independent on the other, has cost

" the Christian World very dear in Treas-

" ure and in Blood, and has almost heav'd

" the Government (which ought to pre-

" serve the Peace and Order of *Christen-*

" *dom*) off its Hinges. That there are

" Offences and Crimes of an Ecclesiastical

" and Spiritual nature, according to the

" Manner and Custom of speaking; and

" Persons, who by their Functions to which

" they are assign'd properly fall under the

" same Distinctions; is very true and very

" reasonable: but that any such difference

" in the Appellation shou'd create a Schism

" in the Government; that the *Civil Jus-*

" *tice* of the Kingdom shou'd not have the

" full Cognizance of either and both, but

" that another *Supreme and Sovereign Ju-*

" *isdiction*

jurisdiction shou'd examine and determine Chap. 8.  
 those things, and have the only Authority to regulate, reform and punish those Persons, is such a Solecism, such a Contradiction, indeed such a Dissolution of all the Principles and substantial Frame of Government, that there's not where-with left to prevent the highest and most dismal Confusion that can be imagin'd.

83. The next Author I shall mention, is the Excellent Dr. Barrow, who affirms, *Of the Pope's Supremacy, p. 143.*  
 That supposing two Powers (Spiritual and Temporal) to be Co-ordinate and Independent each of other, then must all Christians be put into that perplex'd State of repugnant and incompatible Obligations, concerning which our Lord saith, *No man can serve two Masters, for either he will hate the one and love the other, or else he will hold to the one and despise the other.* They will often draw several ways, and clash in their Designs, in their Laws, in their Decisions; one willing and commanding that which the other disliketh and prohibiteth: it will be impossible by any certain Bounds to distinguish their Jurisdiction, so as to prevent Contest between them. All Temporal Matters being in some respect Spiritual (as being referable to Spiritual Ends, and in some manner ally'd to Religion) and all Spiritual Things becoming Temporal, as they conduce to the secular Peace and Prosperity of State, there is nothing which each of

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“ these



“ these Powers will not hook within the,  
 “ Verge of its Cognizance and Jurisdic-  
 “ tion; each will claim a Right to med-  
 “ dle in all things; one pretending thereby,  
 “ to further the Good of the Church, the  
 “ other to secure the Interest of the State,  
 “ And what End or Remedy can there be  
 “ of the Differences hence arising, there  
 “ being no third Power to arbitrate or mo-  
 “ derate between them?

“ Each will prosecute its Cause by its  
 “ Advantages, the one by Instruments of  
 “ Temporal Power, the other by Spiritual  
 “ Arms of Censures and Curses. And in  
 “ what a case must the poor People then  
 “ be? How distracted in their Conscien-  
 “ ces, how divided in their Affections,  
 “ how discordant in their Practices, ac-  
 “ cording as each Pretence has influence  
 “ upon them by its different Arguments  
 “ or peculiar Advantages?

“ How can any Man satisfy himself in  
 “ performing or refusing Obedience to  
 “ either? How many (by the Intricacy  
 “ of the Point, and contrary pulling) will  
 “ be withdrawn from yielding due Com-  
 “ pliance on the one hand or the other?  
 “ What shall a Man do, while one, in  
 “ a Case of Disobedience to his Com-  
 “ mands, doth brandish a Sword, the  
 “ other thunders out a Curse against him;  
 “ one threatneth Death, the other Exci-  
 “ sion from the Church, both denounce  
 “ Damnation? What Animositys and  
 “ Contentions, what Discomposures and  
 “ Confusions must this Constitution of  
 “ Things

“ Things breed in every place? and how  
“ can a Kingdom so divided in it self  
“ stand, or not come into Desolation?

“ It is indeed impossible that a Co-ordi-  
“ nation of these Powers shou’d subsist;  
“ for each will be continually encroaching  
“ on the other, each for its own Defence  
“ and Support will be continually strug-  
“ gling and clambering to get above the  
“ other; there will be never any Quiet till  
“ one comes to subside and truckle under  
“ the other, whereby the Sovereignty of  
“ the one or other will be destroy’d; each  
“ of them will soon come to claim a Su-  
“ premacy in all Causes, and the Power of  
“ both Swords; and one Side will carry  
“ it. It is indeed necessary that, Men for  
“ a time continuing possess’d with a Re-  
“ verence to the Ecclesiastical Authority  
“ as Independent and Incontroulable, it  
“ shou’d at last overthrow the Temporal,  
“ by reason of its great Advantages a-  
“ bove it. For,

“ The Spiritual Power doth pretend an  
“ Establishment purely Divine, which can-  
“ not by any Accidents undergo any  
“ Change, Diminutions, or Translations,  
“ to which Temporal Dominions are sub-  
“ ject: Its Power therefore being perpetual,  
“ irreversibile, depending immediately on  
“ God, can hardly be check’d, can never be  
“ conquer’d.

“ It fights with Tongues and Pens,  
“ which are the most perillous Weapons.

“ It can never be disarm’d, fighting  
“ with Weapons that cannot be taken

“ away, or depriv’d of their Edge and Vi-  
 “ gour.

“ It works by most powerful Conside-  
 “ rations upon the Consciences and Affec-  
 “ tions of Men upon pain of Damnation,  
 “ promising Heaven and threatning Hell;  
 “ which upon some Men have an infinite  
 “ Sway, upon all Men a considerable In-  
 “ fluence, and thereby will be too hard  
 “ for those who only can grant Temporal  
 “ Rewards, or inflict Temporal Punish-  
 “ ments. It hath continual Opportunitys  
 “ of conversing with Men, and thereby  
 “ can insinuate and suggest the Obligation  
 “ to obey it with greatest Advantage, in  
 “ Secrecy, in the tenderest Seasons.

“ It claimeth a Power to have its In-  
 “ structions admitted with Assent; and  
 “ will it not instruct them for its own  
 “ advantage? All its Assertions must be  
 “ believ’d; is not this an infinite Advan-  
 “ tage?

“ By such Advantages the Spiritual  
 “ Power (if admitted for such as it pre-  
 “ tendeth) will swallow and devour the  
 “ Temporal, which will be an extreme  
 “ Mischief to the World.

84. Foreign Divines have not scrupled  
 to own that this Doctrine of two Inde-  
 pendent Powers is Antichristian, and the  
 Spawn of Popery: the judicious *Gomarus*  
 for instance saith, “ That the Papists ac-  
 “ knowledg two Supreme Powers, one not  
 “ subject to the other; but the true  
 “ Preachers of the Divine Word account  
 “ it as a Mark of Antichrist, who exalts  
 “ himself



" himself above all that is call'd God. Chap. 8.  
 And the famous *Gualterus* makes the as-  
 serting two such Powers to flow from Po- Hom. 24.  
 pery. And with them do our Divines agree, in 1 Cor. 5.  
 when they undertake the Defence of the  
 Regal Supremacy: then either, with the  
 Bishop of *Sarum* they affirm, " That all *Expos. Art.*  
 " Mankind must be under one Obedience 37.  
 " and one Authority; or else they say, as  
 Dr. *Scot* does, " That before the coming *Christian*  
 " of Christ the Authority of Princes was *Life, Vol.*  
 " bounded by no Law but that of Na- 2. 9. 7.  
 " ture; and that the Christian Religion is  
 " so far from retrenching their Power,  
 " that it abundantly ratifies and confirms  
 " it. And 'tis to the Law of Nature that  
 Mr. *Hooker* refers us, in supposing " That *Eccles. Pol.*  
 " what Power soever Kings and States had *Book 8.*  
 " in Religious Matters before the coming  
 " of Christ, they are fully authoriz'd by  
 " the Gospel to exercise the same in all  
 " Affairs pertinent to the State of the  
 " true Christian Religion. Now by the  
 Law of Nature there were not two Inde-  
 pendent Powers in the same Society to li-  
 mit one another; and whenever the Magi-  
 strate did exceed the Bounds of his Autho-  
 rity, 'twas not by invading the Right of  
 any Ecclesiastical Magistrate, who had an  
 Independent Power from Heaven, but by  
 usurping on those Natural Rights of the  
 People, which they cou'd not make over  
 to any one, whether King or Priest: and  
 what those Rights are, has been shown in  
 the Introduction.

85. Shou'd the Clergy condemn me for asserting those very Doctrines they themselves maintain against the Papists, they wou'd give the World too just ground to conclude that 'tis only for being consistent with my self, in not approving in any Church, what they as well as I condemn in the Papists; in whom (considering the many Engagements we lie under to renounce any such Doctrine) the Fault is not quite so unpardonable.

And indeed none is qualify'd to believe two Independent Powers, who has not Faith enough for Transubstantiation; since it necessarily, as has been already shown, supposes a Body may be in several places at once, and about different Actions at the same time; and all Mankind, who have allow'd that the Body Politick con'd not move different ways at the same time, have own'd that the Supreme Power was indivisible: and therefore I shall only quote one Authority more, that of a Papist, and no less a Man than Father *Paul of Venice*, to shame, if possible, those Protestants who maintain two Independent Powers: he says, " This Opinion makes a Monster of Government; and that the Absurdity will not be declin'd in saying they are co-ordinate and link'd together by mutual Helps, as so many Bonds; so that the Primate has power over the King in Censures, and the King over him in Punishment. For what if the King and Primate shou'd both take the same to themselves, wou'd not the Common-wealth

Letters;  
Engl. Tran-  
slat. Lett.  
123.





## CHAP. IX.

That this Hypothesis of none being capable of Governing the Church except Bishops, and that none can be Bishops except those who derive their Power by a continu'd and uninterrupted Succession in the Catholick Church from the Apostles, destroys the very Being of the Church.

1. **T**HE Divine Wisdom never acts vainly or unnecessarily, nor interposes miraculously, unless where the ordinary Means are not sufficient. And therefore he who pretends to prove that all things relating to Ecclesiastical Polity are not left to Mankind to determine as they think fit, ought likewise to prove that when they were depriv'd of this Power (which they enjoy'd for above four thousand years together, God not miraculously interposing even among the Jews till they had chose him for their King) they became less capable of managing it than before; for which reason they were for ever to be depriv'd of their Rights, and Church-Government



vernment was to be independently and unalterably plac'd in a few Ecclesiasticks, and by them to be continu'd in an uninterrupted Succession to the End of the World. He, I say, who intends to prove this, is oblig'd not only to answer the Absurditys which in general attend this Hypothesis, but those in particular also which follow from his applying it to this or that Set of Ecclesiasticks, with whom he supposes the Government of the Church to be by God intrusted. And,

2. Because 'tis the prevailing Opinion, that Bishops are by Divine Appointment Governors of the Christian Church, and that no one is capable of being of that number who derives not his Right by an uninterrupted Succession of Bishops in the Catholick Church, I will now show some of the numerous Absurditys of this Hypothesis. But,

3. First, as to the Form of Government it self: If the making of Laws and the executing of 'em (without both which there can be no Government) be in the hands of the same Persons, the Bishops, they will lie under a Temptation to make such as more regard their own separate Interest than the Good of the Church; and having the Executive Power, they may abuse it without the least Controul, there being no Appeal from them, nor can the People (which cannot happen in a Government founded by them) have any Right to redress themselves. This being a Government so Tyrannical in its Frame and

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Constitution, can we suppose the Divine Goodness wou'd miraculously interfere to impose it on the Church for ever? The thing it self, without any other Proof, is a sufficient Demonstration of its being a Contrivance of the Ecclesiasticks.

4. By this Hypothesis of the Bishops being Governors of the Church by Divine Right, no Religious Society which has not Episcopal Government, tho' in all things else they enjoy Christianity in the greatest Purity, can be a Christian Church; since That no more than any other Society can subsist without Government, of which, if Bishops only are capable, all that the Reform'd who want 'em have got by their Separation from the Church of *Rome*, is to Unchurch themselves, by throwing off a Government which is essential to the Church of Christ; Bishops only having a Power to authorize Men to preach, administer the Sacraments, or perform any other Ecclesiastical Office. And therefore ever since this Notion has prevail'd, we constantly re-ordain those who come over to us from all Churches which want Episcopacy; whilst we religiously abstain from doing the same to those who leave the Romish Communion, as having already Hands laid on 'em by Bishops. So that it seems we esteem the Want of That alone more destructive to the Being of a Christian Church, than all the immoral, impious, and idolatrous Tenets of the Romanists: and therefore, if we act agreeably to this Notion, we are as much oblig'd to prefer



prefer their Interest before all Protestant Chap. 9.  
Churches which want Episcopacy, as we  
are a Christian before a No-Christian  
Church. And,

5. That there are too many acting agreeably to this Principle, is so apparent as not to be deny'd; and who have not scrupled to own they have more favourable Thoughts of the Papists, whom they reverence as a true Church, than of the Protestant Dissenters, whom they reckon no other than (the vilest thing in their eyes) a mere Lay-Mob.

6. How much this Hypothesis weakens the Protestant Cause, and what Advantage it gives to the common Enemy, cannot well be imagin'd, without considering the daily Increase and growing Interest of Popery; which tho' nothing except the late happy Revolution hinder'd from being the Establish'd Religion, not only of these Kingdoms, but of all *Europe*, yet those who are for Episcopacy being *Jure Divino*, if they act consistently with their Principles, can have no favourable Thoughts of it, since it was the occasion by which People in *England* are permitted to join with those Sectarys, who for want of Bishops cannot pretend to the Name of a Church, and whereby in *Scotland* the true Church by the Abolition of Episcopacy has been destroy'd. And therefore 'twou'd be no wonder if the Highfliers here rail at the Revolution, and the Bishops there have so much Charity for that unchurch'd Nation, as to endeavour

re-

re-uniting 'em to the true Church; tho' it be by returning to *Rome*; and for that reason be intirely in the Interest of the *Sr. Germain's* Family, as the only Means to bring it about. How well Men of these Sentiments are qualify'd to join with the *Dutch* and the rest of our Presbyterian Allies, against Popery accompany'd with Episcopacy, let the Reader judg.

17. If I were worthy to advise some People, I shou'd desire 'em not to act like the Executioners of the three Children, in venturing to burn themselves, that they might be sure to throw others far enough into the Fire; and that they wou'd no more attack the Dissenters on such Principles as unchurch all who departed from *Rome*, those who have, as well as those who have not Bishops.

In order to prove this the Consequence of their Principles, I here demand, If the Church of Christ be (as they affirm) but One, and that those who refuse Communion with it, cut themselves off from it; Whether the Romish Bishops were at the time of the Reformation Bishops of this Church or not? If they were, the Protestants by separating from 'em, and setting up a Communion in opposition to 'em, became Schismatics, and thereby cut themselves off from this One Church; since two opposite Communions, as the Clergy on all sides hold, can't be both Members of the same Church: and if one is a Member of the true Church, the other can't be so too; and a false Church is no Church, at least

least of Christ; and consequently the Pro- Chap. 9.  
 testant Bishops can't be Governors in the  
 Church of Christ, because Ecclesiastical  
 Headship supposes a Union with the Bo-  
 dy, and they who break that Union must  
 destroy any Headship, Power, or Autho-  
 rity they had before over the Body, or  
 any Part of it, since by their Schism they  
 cease to belong to the Body.

On the contrary, if the Romish Church  
 at any time before the Reformation  
 ceas'd to be a true Church, they ceas'd  
 to have a Right to those Privileges be-  
 longing to it, of which the receiving and  
 conveying Spiritual Power or Government  
 is on all sides allow'd to be one; and  
 consequently they were incapable of be-  
 stowing any on the Protestant Bishops.

8. What can be more absurd than to  
 suppose that a Man may be united to  
 Christ, by being in Union with such Bi-  
 shops as are cut off from Christ; or that  
 those Bishops have a Right to govern the  
 Church, who have no Right to the Church  
 or any of its Privileges? For how can  
 there be a Power to ordain, or admi-  
 nister the Sacraments, where there's no  
 Ministry nor Sacraments? Or how can  
 they who are themselves excluded the  
 Church, admit People into or turn 'em  
 out of the Church? As they cannot Bind,  
 so they cannot Loose; and as they de-  
 stroy the Unity of the Spirit, so they  
 can have no Right to the disposing of the  
 Holy Ghost.

and such things as are not of the Church  
 \* The



The Consequence of which Premises is, that if the Protestants by separating from the Church of *Rome* were guilty of Schism, they can have amongst 'em none of that Spiritual Power or Government which is deriv'd from the Apostles by way of Succession in the Catholick Church.

On the contrary, if the Papists were Schismatics, there cou'd be no Medium for Apostolical Succession, as not being capable of receiving or conveying those Spiritual Powers which the Clergy on all sides suppose necessary to the Existence of a true Church; and which can be no otherwise obtain'd than by an uninterrupted Succession from the Apostles in the truly Apostolick and Catholick Church.

9. So that there never was so unlucky an Hypothesis: for whether you allow the Papists to be, or not to be a true Church, it must hinder the Protestants from being so; for if they were no true Church, they cou'd not convey to others that Spiritual Power which is necessary to the Being of a true Church; or if they were, the Protestant Bishops, with those who adher'd to 'em, cou'd not be such a Church, as being guilty of an unnecessary Separation. But if the Separation was necessary, then the Church of *Rome* cou'd not be a true Church, for that certainly cannot be such a Church, if it be not lawful to join with her; and Men, as they become convinc'd of the Unreasonableness of her Terms of Communion, are bound to separate from her,

as

as the *Greek* and *Eastern Churches* did, long Chap. 9.  
before our Reformation.

10. To me 'tis very strange, that those who have subscrib'd the Articles of our Church, shou'd allow the Papists to be a part of the visible Church of Christ, which by the 20th Article is defin'd to be *A Congregation of Faithful Men, in which the pure Word of God is preach'd, and the Sacraments duly administer'd according to Christ's Ordinance, in all that of necessity are requisite to the same.* Can our Churchmen apply this Definition to the Papists, when they affirm that among them the Word of God is so far from being preach'd pure, that 'tis mix'd with a prodigious number of absurd Traditions? Or can our Church, which affirms the Wine to be an essential Part of the Lord's Supper, say that that Sacrament is duly administer'd in the Romish Church, according to Christ's Ordinance, in all things which of necessity are requisite to the same, when the Cup is allow'd only to the Priest? Or,

11. Can that be a true Church, which not only obliges all her Members to maintain a *Blasphemous Fable* (as all who have subscrib'd the thirty first Article must own their Doctrine of the Sacrifice of the Mass to be) but is likewise guilty of *Idolatry*, since that Article affirms, that the Homily's, which charge her upon a great many accounts with it, contain a godly and wholesom Doctrine? Which, were not the Charge true, wou'd be so far from  
con.

containing such a Doctrine, that they wou'd be full of an unjust Censure of so great a Body of Christians.

Weights  
and Mea-  
sures.

12. At the Reformation our Divines every where charg'd the Pope with being Antichrist, and made *Rome* the Spiritual *Babylon*; and with such clear Proofs as converted more than any one Topic whatever. They did not scruple then to charge her with Idolatry, and other monstrous Crimes, lest by proving her no Church they cou'd not make out their own Title to the True Church. They did not believe, like Mr. *Thorndike* (the Oracle of High-Church) that they were guilty of Schism, who separated from the Church of *Rome* as an idolatrous Church; nor did they refuse to license the Books the Dissenters wrote against *Rome*, because they charg'd her with such Sentiments as prove her to be no Church, and then rail at 'em for not writing against Popery.

13. In a word, if Blasphemy against God, or Tyranny over Men; if defacing the Ideas of the Deity, if corrupting the Principles of Virtue and moral Honesty; if subverting the Foundations of natural Religion, or overthrowing the essential Articles of the Christian Faith; if the most avow'd or bold Affronts offer'd to Heaven, and the bloodiest and most brutal Outrages executed on the best of Men: If all these, I say, are sufficient to exclude Men from being a Part of the truly Catholick and Apostolick Church, the Romanists can have no pretence to it. And,

14. No-



14. Nothing besides an extreme Fond- Chap 9.  
ness to an Hypothesis, can make any sup-  
pose that the Church of *Rome*, notwith-  
standing her gross and notorious Idolatry,  
and her other Doctrines so derogatory to  
the Merits of our Saviour, and so de-  
structive of a good Life, so opposite to the  
Happiness of Human Societys, and so in-  
consistent with the Dutys we owe both to  
God and Man, is a True Church: and her  
claiming the Name of Christian, while she  
acts so Unchristianly, must needs heighten  
her Guilt, and make her appear the more  
Antichristian.

15. The *Mussulmen* may, with a better  
Grace, pretend to be a true Church: for  
they do not so abominably corrupt the Old  
and New Testament, by adding the Senti-  
ments of *Mahomet*, as the others by their  
Oral Traditions, and the Decrees of their  
Infallible Church; which maintains, besides  
whatever is ridiculous in other Religions,  
peculiar Absurditys more gross than were  
ever known among the most Barbarous of  
Mankind.

16. The *Mahometans* cannot be charg'd  
with any thing tending to Idolatry, as the  
Papists justly are with the foulest; nor do  
those allow of any such Doctrine as not  
keeping Faith with Hereticks; nor does  
the Mufti, like the Pope, pretend to ab-  
solve People from their Oaths; nor do the  
Followers of *Mahomet* persecute like the  
Papists, who think it meritorious to mur-  
der all who differ from 'em, which renders  
a Religion more pernicious than Atheism it  
Y self :

Alchoran  
Azoara 2.

self : nor are those so uncharitable as to damn all Dissenters, but acknowledg that all, whether Jews or Christians, &c. who adore God and do Good, shall undoubtedly obtain the Love of God.

17. In short, those who allow the Church of Rome to be a true Church, do it for no other reason, than because by their Hypothesis of Ecclesiastical Government they find it necessary for the Support of their own. But certainly the less the Papists appear to be a true Church, the greater ground there is to account those who oppose her Corruptions to be so; and that 'tis a most senseless Hypothesis, which cannot allow them who justly separate from a Church, to be a true Church, except that which they separated from is so likewise.

18. It must be no small Diversion to the Papists, to see their Adversarys labour to do their business, by striving to prove 'em a true Church, as a thing absolutely necessary to make their own so; while without any respect to this kind Usage they treat our Church, as she does the Dissenters, like a mere Lay-Mob. And these are the Notions which cause the Papists to flatter themselves, that those Persons can have no great Aversion for their Church, who own it to be a true Church of Christ, even tho they deny any Heretical or Schismatical Church to be so: and then they think 'tis easy to judg who were the Schismatics at the Separation. And they do not despair that the Sticklers for these

Notions

Notions may be brought some time or other to act agreeably to their own Principles, and that they will at some critical Juncture, when there's no great hazard in it, reannite themselves to that True Church from whence their Ancestors separated upon Principles which will not pass muster now. And as the Destruction of the National Church, let it be Episcopal or Presbyterian, by reason of her Numbers, Power and Riches, is the chief Aim of the Papists; so were they to form Principles for her in order to proselyte her, they cou'd not contrive better: and 'tis too evident in fact, that as these have increas'd, the Danger of Popery has increas'd with them.

19. Tho we suppose the Church of *Rome* a true Church, and that our Church by separating from her is not guilty of Schism; and consequently that two opposite Communion's may be both Members of the true Catholick Church: yet did not those Bishops who renounc'd her Communion, thereby quit all the Ecclesiastical Power and Jurisdiction they got by being in that Church? In any other Body Politick, a Man by leaving it loses all the Powers he had by being of it, and there's no reason why 'tis not the same in an Ecclesiastical Society; and consequently all the Church-Powers the Protestant Bishops cou'd have, must be deriv'd from the Members of the new Church they then join'd themselves with. But,



20. If a Bishop by leaving the Church of *Rome* did not by that Act lose all the Episcopal Power he had when he was one of the Governors of that Church; especially considering no Commission can well be extended to authorize the opposing him who bestow'd it, yet the Popish Bishops had as much Power to deprive or degrade him, as to ordain him: since a Sentence is valid, tho' not right, when done by a competent Authority; and consequently the Popish Bishops in the time of Queen *Mary* or Queen *Elizabeth* had as much Right to unmake, as they had to make a Bishop in their Father's or Grandfather's time.

This, tho' no more were said, plainly shows that the Hypothesis of Ecclesiastical Government belonging to such Bishops only, as derive their Power by way of Succession from Catholick and Apostolick Predecessors, unchurches not only all the Reform'd who are without Bishops, but all the Episcopalians likewise.

21. To which we may add another Argument with relation to the Church of *England*, to shew that her Bishops have no Power by way of Succession. For,

The Popish Bishops in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign either had or had not any Spiritual Power deriv'd by way of Succession from the Apostles: If they had not, the Protestant Bishops cannot pretend to receive any such Power from 'em; if they had, no Lay Powers cou'd deprive 'em of what belong'd to 'em by a Divine Right, and consequently they retain'd their Spiritualities.

tys. So that all which these who were put into their Places cou'd possess, were their Temporalitys only; and they cou'd bestow no more on their Successors than they had themselves. But,

22. Because Mr. *Dodwel* endeavours upon these Principles to maintain the Validity of the Deprivation of the Popish Bishops by Queen *Elizabeth*, I shall now examine his Reasons.

"The first is, that the Popish Bishops taking out Commissions from *H. 8.* for their Spiritual Power, was a sufficient Reason for the Validity of the Queen's Deprivation; because in taking out these Commissions, they might in Law be suppos'd to renounce the better Title they had from Christ and his Apostles; since there cannot be two Originals of the same Power, and therefore the taking one from the Magistrate must be renouncing any other.

*Doctrine of the Ch. of England concerning the Independency of the Clergy, &c. §. 28.*

If this in the Popish Bishops was a renouncing their better Title; the Protestant Bishops renounc'd theirs too, since they, as he owns, did the same. And 'tis notorious, that they not only took out the same in *H. 8.*'s time, but renew'd them upon his Son's coming to the Crown, as necessary to enable 'em to exercise their Episcopal Authority; and consequently this is a farther Proof that the Bishops have no Divine Power.

23. His next Argument is, "That the Deprivation of the Popish Bishops was only of their Temporalitys; their Sees,

“ as to their Spiritualities, being before  
 “ vacant; the Protestants owing 'em no  
 “ Duty even in Conscience before Depriva-  
 “ tion,

If those Bishops were not Bishops of the Protestants before their Deprivation, then they had no Bishops, and consequently by his own Principles no Priests, no Sacraments, no Christian Church; and if they were not obliging in Conscience before Deprivation, it was because the People judging 'em guilty of gross Errors, had by renouncing all Communion with 'em withdrawn their Obedience from 'em, and depriv'd 'em of all the Spiritual Jurisdiction they had over 'em: which, contrary to the whole Drift and Design of his Book, proves that the Bishop's Power is deriv'd from and dependent on the People; and what they cou'd do thus themselves by a tacit Agreement, they might authorize the Queen to do solemnly and formally; or rather the People having, by renouncing their Communion, depriv'd 'em of all the Spiritual Power and Authority they cou'd pretend to over 'em, the Queen took from 'em all those legal Powers and Privileges the Law had invested 'em with.

24. His third Argument is, “ That tho  
 “ the Popish Bishops upon the account of  
 “ the Invalidity of their Lay-Deprivation,  
 “ still retain'd a Right in Conscience over  
 “ the Protestants; yet the Duty to 'em  
 “ ceas'd with their Lives, and became due  
 “ to their Protestant Successors, tho it was  
 “ in their power to have perpetuated the  
 “ In-



“ Invalidity of our Succession, by keeping Chap. 9.  
 “ up one of their own down to our  
 “ Times. ~~~~~

Upon this I cannot avoid remarking these four things.

First, That the Protestants who separated from the Church of *Rome*, by so doing were guilty of Schism, and continu'd so during the Lives of the Popish Bishops.

Secondly, That if the Popish Bishops, notwithstanding their Errors, retain'd a Right in Conscience to the Obedience of the Protestants; then there are no Errors which can justify a Reformation in any Nation, when they cannot do it without disowning their erroneous Bishops.

Thirdly, That the very Being of our Church subsists by a mere Accident, the Neglect of the Papists in continuing the Succession of their own Bishops down to our Times: tho some say the matter of Fact is otherwise; and that they have, at least in *Ireland*, most religiously kept up the Succession; and consequently, the Popish Bishops there have still a Right to oblige the Consciences of Men of these Principles.

Fourthly, Whether the Papists have or have not done this, the *English* Church by his own Reasoning must be without Bishops, because they who are ordain'd to Sees already full, are, as he asserts in at least forty places, no Bishops; and their Consecrations null and void: And “ it *Vindicat. of*  
 “ was, as he saith, a Principle universally *the Defence*  
 “ receiv'd in the Catholick Church, as an- *of the De-*  
 “ tient as the Practice of two pretending *priv'd Bi-*  
 “ *shops, S. 17.*  
 “ to

“ to the same Bishoprick, that the *Se-*  
 “ *cundus* was always look’d on as *Nullus*  
 “ *foras alienus*, so far from being a Bishop  
 “ of the Church, that the Attempt divi-  
 “ ded him from it. And this, he saith,  
 “ is as evident from Reason as from Au-  
 “ thority, because no Man can convey  
 “ the same thing twice; and therefore in  
 “ all Monarchical Districts, none can  
 “ suppose an Antimonarch’s Title good  
 “ till he has shown the first Monarch’s  
 “ Title is not so. And consequently,  
 the Attempt to make Protestants Bishops  
 of those Sees which were full of others,  
 must be null and void; and if, they  
 were not Bishops of those Places to  
 which they were ordain’d, they were  
 Bishops of no others, and therefore no  
 Bishops at all; since none, as he owns,  
 can be a Bishop of the Catholick Church,  
 otherwise than by being Bishop of some  
 particular District. Nor cou’d the Death  
 of the Popish Bishops make those who  
 were not so much as Members of the  
 Catholick Church, to become Bishops  
 of it. Had he suppos’d ’em true Bishops,  
 and only hinder’d from exercising their  
 Power as long as the Popish Bishops  
 liv’d, their Death wou’d have let ’em  
 into a full Exercise of their Episcopal  
 Authority: and if their Consecrations  
 were from the beginning null, the  
 Death of the Popish Bishops cou’d no  
 more make ’em become Bishops, than  
 if they had no Consecration, since  
 there’s no difference between that and

a Consecration which has no effect; nor Chap. 9.  
 cou'd they who were no Bishops them-  
 selves, make others so; and conse-  
 quently the Church of *England*, by our Au-  
 thor's own Reasoning, has been ever since  
 Queen *Elizabeth's* Time without Bishops,  
 if they are not to be reckon'd such  
 who have no other Right to their Power,  
 than what they derive from Human Autho-  
 rity.

25. The Excuse given for the High-  
 fliers' caressing the profess'd Enemys of  
 Church and State, the Nonjurors, while  
 they shew such Bitterness to those who  
 dissent only on a Church-account, is, that  
 the Church-Schism will be heal'd by the  
 Death of the Nonjuring Bishops, and that  
 then they will all come into the Church.  
 But this Reason, as poor as it is, will not  
 hold, since the two *Defences of the De-*  
*priv'd Bishops*, which contain the Reasons  
 of their Separation, and which they are  
 not a little proud of, upon all occasions  
 referring to 'em, make the present  
 Church of *England* guilty of the greatest  
 Heresy, as striking at what is fundamen-  
 tal in the highest degree, as being funda-  
 mental to other Fundamentals, the Suc-  
 cession of Bishops, without which the  
 Church can't subsist. And on this Head  
 tragical Declamations are made of the  
 great Danger the Church is in; for which  
 there cou'd not be the least ground, were  
 the present Possessors of the Sees suppos'd to  
 be true Bishops, and consequently capable  
 of continuing the Succession. So that shou'd  
 the



the depriv'd Bishops die without Consecrating others, the Nonjurors wou'd by these Principles be as far from owning the present Church as State.

If some Men wou'd speak out, they might upon these Principles better excuse their Treatment of the present Bishops than any yet they have offer'd, because they who are plac'd in the Sees of the Bishops depriv'd by Parliament, can only plead a Human Right. For,

If the Spiritual Relation their Predecessors had to their several Districts was deriv'd from God, no Human Powers cou'd dissolve it ; and the same regard must be had to their Authority after as before a Lay-Deprivation: therefore one wou'd think those who undertook to justify the present Bishops, wou'd not, unless they had a mind to betray the Cause they pretended to defend, assert an Independent Power in the Bishops.

26. But the most Learned Doctor, who signaliz'd himself in this Controversy, loth to deny the Bishops such a Power, and as unwilling to own himself and the rest of the Clergy Schismatics, took a middle way to justify them, by bringing a number of Precedents, where the Clergy and the People deserted the Communion of Bishops depriv'd by Lay-Powers, and adher'd to others put in their Places: which must show, that either they thought the Bishops had no Independent Power, or that they acted contrary to their own Consciences. And of what Authority are  
mens

mens Practices, when they contradict their Chap. 9.  
Principles?

27. To yield that Lay-Deprivations are unjust and invalid, and at the same time to argue for our Compliance with 'em, gives the Author of the *Regale*, and the other Enemies of the Church of *England*, too great cause to insult and triumph, and cry up their Champions of the Depriv'd Bishops, as if they had unanswerably pin'd down Schism on the Church. And they are not so much in the wrong, if nothing else cou'd be said to justify the Church, besides what this, and another as Learned Author, the Writer of two small Pamphlets to clear the Church from the Guilt of Schism and Heresy (the only Persons who have expressly undertaken her Defence) have urg'd in her behalf against those numerous Pamphlets which upon these common Principles have charg'd her home.

This last Author, as much as the other, owns the Power of the Bishops to be *Jure Divino*; and as a Consequence of that, will not allow the Magistrate to deprive 'em of any of their Spiritual Rights: yet to justify the Church for renouncing 'em upon a Lay-Deprivation, he makes a Bishoprick to be a Temporal thing; and that as such the Magistrate, he owns, can lawfully deprive him of it; yet his Spiritualitys are untouch'd, and he remains, just as he was before, a Bishop of the Catholick Church. But,

28. Nothing can be more senseless, than the Notion of a Bishop without a Bishoprick; because that carrys Spiritual Power and Jurisdiction with it, which supposes Obedience and Subjection. They therefore who owe this to any Bishop are his Subjects, and within his Bishoprick; so that a Bishop and a Bishoprick, District, or Diocess, are Relatives; and as 'tis impossible there can be a Bishop without a Bishoprick, so 'tis as impossible two can have the same, or a Right to the same. And if one Bishop's District was as large as the whole Church, there cou'd be only one Bishop, and the whole Church his Diocess; and consequently, to suppose each to be Bishop, not of a Part only, but of the whole Catholick Church, is to make as many Contradictions, save one, as Bishops. But,

29. 'Tis worse to suppose that those who have no Bishopricks, as being lawfully depriv'd of 'em, are still Bishops, and each of 'em a Bishop of the Catholick Church: which is as absurd as to say, that there may be Kings without any Kingdoms, or a Right to any; yet each is a King of the whole World, and can make as many such Kings as he pleases; there being nothing by this Hypothesis to hinder the depriv'd Bishops from making every Man in the Nation as good a Bishop to all intents and purposes as any of themselves. Men durst not vent such Absurdities, when they talk of Civil Government; but Nonsense seems sacred, when apply'd



apply'd to Ecclesiastical. As wretched a Chap. 9.  
 Blunder as this is, yet 'tis all our Learned  
 Author has to clear the Church of Eng-  
 land from the Guilt of Schism and He-  
 resy. Had this Author consider'd, that un-  
 less every Bishop's Power was limited to a  
 particular District, nothing besides Con-  
 fusion and Disorder must happen, the Peo-  
 ple not knowing whom to obey, on account  
 of the Multiplicity and Contrariety of  
 Orders; he wou'd consequently have made  
 both *Jure Divino*, or both *Jure Humano*.  
 And if a District be only Human, the  
 Right a Bishop has to it can't be Divine;  
 but both the Relatives, which can't subsist  
 without each other, must have the same Or-  
 igin. And, This Author certainly was not in the  
 wrong, in supposing Districts to be only  
 of Human Right; except he cou'd have  
 found out the particular Bishops who had  
 a Divine Authority to divide the Christian  
 World into Parishes, Districts, Provinces,  
 &c. But if every Nation can appoint the  
 Number of its own Districts, and dimi-  
 nish and enlarge 'em as they please, 'tis  
 plain all the Power the Bishops have is de-  
 riv'd from the People; since they cannot  
 only appoint what Number they think  
 fit, and enlarge or diminish a Bishop's  
 Power with his District, but by consoli-  
 dating or turning two Districts into one  
 they wholly deprive one Bishop of his  
 Power, and bestow it on another: and  
 then he can't pretend to do any Epis-  
 copal

copal And there, without usurping upon his Right to whom the District is given.

31. Thus it is, that these Men, for the sake of an Independent Power, betray the Church instead of defending it; and therefore the Clergy, as one in reason ought to suppose, shou'd pardon a Layman who clears the Church from so heavy a Charge as Schism and Heresy, tho he does it upon Principles inconsistent with their Independency. Yet shou'd they not forgive my attempting to prove them neither Hereticks or Schismatics, I hope the Laity will not take it amiss, that upon solid and rational Principles, and so much to their Advantage, I vindicate 'em from any such Guilt, as well as justify the Reformation in all its Steps, which the contrary Notions can never do.

32. If the Bishops in *England* since the Reformation (and the Reasons equally hold for the Protestant Bishops abroad, tho they had been consecrated by Bishops) can claim no Power deriv'd by Succession from the Apostles, the Presbyterians (tho 'twere granted this Power might be convey'd by Presbyters as well as Bishops) can have no Right at all to it, because they don't pretend the Ordinations of the Romish Church are valid; and therefore when any of their Priests come over to 'em, they have Hands laid on 'em anew, before they will permit 'em to exercise the Ministerial Office, reckoning all done before null and void, as done by an Idolatrous Antichristian Church, which is incapable of conveying any Spiritual Power.

I cannot see therefore why the Presbyterians Chap. 9.  
shou'd censure the Anabaptists and Independents for having Lay-Ministers, or such as have no Right to their Office, except what they derive from their Congregations.

33. At the famous Conference at *Poissy* Thuan.  
Hist. Tom.  
2. l. 28.  
p. 45.  
between the Papists and Protestants, when want of a Call and Authority was objected to the Reform'd Ministers, *Beza* declares, " That to a Legitimate Call, Imposition of Hands was not necessary; but that the chief and substantial Tokens thereof were a good Life, sound Doctrine, and Election (meaning of the People) nor was it to be wonder'd at, if they had not receiv'd Imposition of Hands from them, whose corrupt Life, Superstition, and false Doctrine they were to reprove. Or how cou'd it be expected they shou'd ever be allow'd of by them, who were Enemys to the Truth they defended? And after the same manner does the excellent Monsieur *Claude* and other Hugonot Divines write. Nay, none can be ignorant, who has read any thing of the Reformation abroad, that the Ministry was generally chosen out of the Laicks, the Noblemen not disdaining to devote their Gifts to that Service, as the Prince of *Hainault*, *Dupleffis*, *Sadeel*, and others. And they were so far from pretending to any Power by virtue of an uninterrupted Succession, that they maintain'd, wherever the true Faith and Doctrine were, there was the true Church; which could not be, except the Ministry depended on the Church or faithful



faithful People, and not the Church on  
 be Vocat. them. And *Anthony Sadlet* shows by very  
 Minist.int. weighty Reasons, that personal Succession  
 Op. Fol. is so far from being necessary, that it is  
 p. 541. c. 2. no ways probable it is requisite; and he  
 about T proves the Popish Ordinations to be null,  
 about J and their pretended Succession to be inter-  
 about J rupted.

34. The Reform'd Clergy had no No-  
 tion that the Ministers of Christ must re-  
 ceive their Power and Authority from  
 Antichrist; or that his Holy Church cou'd  
 not subsist otherwise than by virtue of a  
 Power deriv'd from the Man of Sin, the  
 Son of Perdition, who has been so fre-  
 quently drunk with the Blood of the  
 Saints. They thought that owning a  
 Character to be given them by the Beast,  
 who pretended to give an indelible one,  
 was too much like receiving his Mark;  
 and therefore that great Apostle *Luther*,  
 proud of being degraded by the Romish  
 Church, absolutely disavows and disclaims  
 all Popish Ordinations; and in his Trea-  
 tise of the Ministry declares one ought to  
 suffer any thing rather than be ordain'd  
 by Papists. As these were the Notions  
 which prevail'd at the Reformation, so 'tis  
 impossible that without 'em any Separa-  
 tion can be made from a corrupt Church,  
 which might reduce any Ecclesiastick, who  
 shou'd pretend to innovate, to that Lay-  
 State they took him from at first. And I  
 do not see how this can be deny'd 'em, since  
 no greater Power is requir'd for one than  
 for other.

35. The Church of England was so far Chap. 9.  
 from thinking a Succession of Bishops necessary to her Being, that she did not believe Episcopacy to be of Divine Appointment: for the Book intitled, *The Institution of a Christian Man*, subscrib'd by the Clergy in Convocation, and confirm'd by Parliament, owns Bishops and Presbyters by Scripture to be the same; and yet the Nation thought themselves at liberty to have an Order superior to that of Presbyters: a sufficient Acknowledgment that they thought no Form of Government fix'd by Christ. And what the Sense of our Church was in 1610, is plain from Archbishop *Bancroft's* and the rest of the Bishops owning the Ordination of Presbyters to be valid, and therefore refusing to re-ordain the *Scotish* Presbyters who were then to be made Bishops; declaring withal, *that to doubt it was to doubt whether there was any lawful Vocation in most of the Reform'd Churches.* And even till after the Restoration this Notion generally obtain'd, it being declar'd 12 Car. 2. *That every Ecclesiastical Person or Minister being ordain'd by any Ecclesiastical Persons before the 21st of December last, was to enjoy his Benefice, if he came into a vacant one: which 'tis to be presum'd wou'd never have been allow'd, if Ordination by Bishops had been thought necessary.* And even at this day Presbyters with us not only exercise all manner of Episcopal Jurisdiction, but have equally with the Bishops a necessary Vote in the

ABp Spott.  
 wood's  
 Hist. p. 514.

Supreme Acts of Church-Government, the making of Ecclesiastical Laws. And before the Act of Uniformity there was nothing I know of to hinder Persons ordain'd by Presbyters from being capable of Church-Preferments; *Travers*, Master of the Temple, having no other: and Bishop *Morton* sent one *Calendrini*, who was unknown to him, to the Ministers of the *Walloon* Church in *London* for Ordination; who being met in a Colloque or Synod, did ordain him, and he had a Brotherhood of the *Savoy* confer'd on him as a Minister of the Church of *England*; the Account of which may be seen at large in the Records of the *Walloon* Church in *London*. And this ought not to be thought strange, since the Papists at this day allow the Ordinations of Abbots Sovereign, who are only Presbyters, to be valid and regular: and the famous *Alexandrian* Church for the first 235 years had no Bishops, but who had Hands laid on them by Presbyters only. And 'tis very probable that those Bishops who converted so many of our Northern Parts to Christianity, were ordain'd by the Abbot of *Hye*,

Eurych.  
Annals,  
Pocock's  
Ed. p. 328.  
Jerom. ad  
Evagr.  
p. 85.

Bed. Eccl. a.  
Hist. l. 3.  
c. 4.  
Usser. de  
Eccl. Brit.  
Primord.

p. 707.

36. The twenty third Article is so far from confining the Power of making Ministers to Bishops, that it only in general Terms declares, *Ministers are to be sent by those who have publick Authority, with-*  
out



out determining who they are; because Chap. 9.  
 the Church, as the Bishop of *Sarum* ob-  
 serves, "suppose they might be different  
 "in different places, and therefore al-  
 "low'd all Protestants who separated  
 "from *Rome*, tho ever so widely differ-  
 "ing in their Notions of Church-Govern-  
 "ment, and the Power of Ordination,  
 "to be true Churches. And he adds,  
 "that neither the Reformers nor their  
 "Successors, for near eighty Years after  
 "these Articles were publish'd, did ever  
 "question the Constitution of such Chur-  
 "ches, where Princes wou'd not suffer  
 "their Subjects to go out of the King-  
 "dom, tho to be regularly ordain'd.  
 Nay, he affirms, "that if a Company of  
 "Christians, tho no Clergymen join with  
 "'em, separate from such a defil'd Wor-  
 "ship as they in Conscience can't comply  
 "with, and chuse some of their own Num-  
 "ber to minister to 'em in Holy Things,  
 "this is not annul'd or condemn'd by  
 "this Article; and that whatever some  
 "hotter Spirits have thought of this  
 "since that time, yet we are sure that  
 "not only those who pen'd the Articles,  
 "but the Body of the Church for above  
 "half an Age afterward, did, notwith-  
 "standing these Irregularitys, acknow-  
 "ledg foren Churches so constituted to be  
 "true Churches. If so, 'tis plain they  
 thought no Spiritual Powers necessary for  
 the Exercise of the Ministerial Function,  
 except what the People cou'd bestow on  
 some of their Body.

Exp. Article  
23.

Historical

Z 2

37. 'Tis

37. 'Tis certain, the Opinion of Bishops being necessary to the Church did not prevail, even with the Clergy, till the Treatys of Marriage with *Spain* and *France*: but then such unhappy Notions generally obtain'd, as tended to disunite Protestants, advance Popery, and establish Slavery.

And when our Embassadors went no longer to *Charenton*, and other such Meetings, and the *Laudean* Faction wou'd no longer own 'em for Churches of Christ, 'twas then no wonder they suffer'd Persecution: for with what Grace cou'd we quarrel with the Papists whom we own'd to be a true Church, for their sake whom we accounted no Church? And how fatal our breaking off Communion with the Reform'd Churches was to the common Protestant Cause, we may learn from our late Famous Historian, who gives an account, "That in the Reign of *Edward VI.*

Claren-

don's Hist.

Vol. 2. p.

74, 75.

" when the Reform'd Churches were persecuted abroad, great numbers of *French*,  
 " *Dutch*, and *Walloons*, came over to Eng-  
 " land with their Familys, and settled ma-  
 " ny useful Manufactures here; how that  
 " King with great Piety and Policy granted  
 " 'em many Immunitys, the free Exer-  
 " cise of their Religion, and Churches in  
 " *London*, *Norwich* and *Canterbury*, where-  
 " by the Wealth of those Places marve-  
 " lously increas'd. He adds, that Queen  
 " *Elizabeth* enlarg'd their Privileges, and  
 " made great use of these People in her  
 " Transactions with *France* and *Holland*,  
 " and by their means kept up an useful  
 " Interest

“ Interest in all foren Dominions, where  
“ the Protestant Religion was tolerated.

He then goes on and says, “ That  
“ some years before the Troubles, when  
“ the Power of the Churchmen grew more  
“ transcendent, and indeed the Facultys  
“ and Understandings of the Lay-Counsel-  
“ lers more dull, lazy, and unactive (for  
“ without the last the first cou’d have  
“ done no hurt) the Church grew jealous  
“ that the countenancing of another Dis-  
“ cipline here by Order of the State wou’d  
“ at least diminish the Reputation and  
“ Dignity of the Episcopal Government,  
“ and give some countenance to the fac-  
“ tious and schismatical Party here to ex-  
“ pect such a Toleration. And therefore  
the State conniving, or not interposing,  
the Bishops proceeded against ’em; so  
that many left the Kingdom, to the les-  
sening the wealthy Manufacture then of  
Kerseyes and Narrow Cloths; and what was  
worse, the transporting the Mystery into  
foren Parts.

He farther shews, that whereas our Em-  
bassadors and foreign Ministers, in any Parts  
where the Reform’d Religion was exercis’d,  
frequented their Churches, gave all possible  
Countenance to their Profession; and par-  
ticularly the Embassador at *Paris* had con-  
stantly frequented the Church at *Charenton*,  
whereby he had kept a necessary Corre-  
spondence with the most active and pow-  
erful Persons of that Persuasion, to the  
great Benefit of this Kingdom, by being  
let into their Secrets of State, and de-  
riving



giving all necessary Intelligence from them ; the contrary to all this was then practis'd, and some Advertisements, if not Instructions, given to the Embassadors there, to forbear any extraordinary Commerce with Men of that Profession ; and the Lord *Scudamore*, then Embassador, not only declin'd going to *Charenton*, but furnish'd his own Chappel with such Ornaments (to wit, Candles on the Communion-Table, and the like) as gave great Offence and Umbrage to those of the Reformation there, who had not seen the like ; besides, he was careful to publish that the Church of *England* look'd not on the *Hugonots* as part of their Communion, which my Lord *Clarendon* says was too much and too industriously discour'd at home.

38, And this Favourite Author of High-Church, thro the whole Course of his History, can't forbear owning, that almost the whole Body of the People, as well as the inferior Clergy, were scandaliz'd and offended at the Behaviour of the Bishops and their few Followers, which was then thought to have a Tendency to Popery, especially the worst part of it, the Domination and Tyranny of the Clergy : and it was this which drew so many Petitions and Remonstrances from several Parliaments both in *England* and *Scotland*, all aloud complaining that Popery was fomented and encourag'd, and the Protestants persecuted and oppress'd by those very Laws design'd against the Papists. Nor was this the Opinion only of the People

People at home, but of the Protestant Churches abroad, who all took part against the King on that account. And my Lord *Clarendon*, notwithstanding all his palliating, is forc'd to own that the Bishops by this extraordinary Conduct of persecuting the Protestant Churches at home, and by separating from the Protestant Churches abroad, did it with a design, *if not to unite with the common Adversary*, yet to show their good Inclinations. And those ridiculous Innovations brought into the Church by *Laud*, cou'd have no other End than to make our Separation greater from other Protestants, and to bring us to a nearer Conformity to the Church of *Rome*: but the People not enduring those Innovations, it put a stop to further Attempts of that kind.

39. The Church is indebted to the State some Millions, not only for being the occasion of sending so many of her People and Manufactures into Foreign Parts, but by hindring others from coming over and settling here and in *Ireland*, as the poor persecuted Protestants of *Savoy* design'd in *Charles II's* time. And I cou'd never meet with any other reason, than the Interest of the Church, why the Bill for Naturalizing the Protestants of *Orange* did not pass both Houses; and there can be no doubt that the Protestants of both those Places wou'd have improv'd the Linen Manufacture, as much as the *French* Refugees have several others, to the infinite Gain of the Nation. But to return,

40. I can't see but that those of our Church, who refuse all Communion with other Reform'd Churches, are upon their own Principles guilty of Schism, because they affirm that Churches, tho erroneous, if they impose not things unlawful, have a Right to Catholick Communion: and this, I suppose, they build on the Practice of the Apostles, who communicated not only with the converted Gentiles and believing Jews, but the unbelieving also; each of which must be reckon'd different Communions, if separate Meetings, distinct Teachers, Discipline and Government, as well as different and opposite Doctrines, can make Men so. And if the unbelieving Jews and believing Gentiles can be reckon'd the same Church, there can be no such thing as distinct Communions: nay, the believing Jews themselves, because the Gentiles cou'd not comply with their Rites and Ceremonys, wou'd scarce endure any civil Converse with 'em, much less join with 'em upon any occasion in their Publick Worship. Which Mistakes, as the Apostle *Paul* labours to rectify, so he esteems Occasional Communion so much a Duty, that he highly blames the great Apostle of the Circumcision for refusing it, out of fear of the Jews, to the Nonconforming Gentiles: but had our Highfliers been to judg, *St. Paul* must have pass'd for the Hypocrite.

41. At the Reformation the Protestants, tho they differ'd about Modes of Church-Discipline, did not therefore forbear communicating



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Take O'Connell's case, for example. O'Connell, an Irish-American, was born in 1930 in New York City. He was the youngest of seven children from a poor, Catholic family.

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to be lifting himself under their Banner, to oppose not the Flesh, the World, and the Devil, but all other Churches, and that too often by carnal, worldly, and devilish Means. And they who are for discouraging this Practice of Occasional Communion, may talk of Unity, but 'tis too plain they aim at Tyranny, and will have no Peace, except with their Vassals and Slaves. 'Twas by virtue of this Communion of Saints which obtain'd among the Reform'd, that they so justly censur'd the Uncharitableness of the Papists. But are the Highfliers, who confine the Church of Christ to a smaller number, and are so far from communicating with other Reform'd Churches either at home or abroad, that they damn those who do so as Schismatics and Hypocrites, more charitable? Is not this acting in defiance of the Apostles Creed, which requires Communion of Saints; unless they suppose the Catholick Church in so deplorable a Condition, as that there are no Saints, except among themselves?

43. As much as the Ecclesiasticks condemn Schism, yet they themselves have all along narrow'd the Terms of Communion, to get the Preferments into fewer Hands. And no sooner did the Empire become Christian, than they divided the Church, each Party in their turn, by imposing their own Explication of those Mysterys which themselves own'd to be inexplicable. And when they found their Adversarys cou'd bring their supple Consciences to comply with those Terms, then,

then, for they had never Vacancys enough, Chap. 9.  
they wou'd endeavour to find out new ; and  
the Bishops (as if they were, according to  
*Marvel's* observation, tilting it with Creeds)  
aim'd to hit one another in the Eye, and  
throw the opposite Party out of the Sad-  
dle. And have they not ever since us'd the  
same Method, and contriv'd to pin down  
on People those things they most scrupl'd ?  
Did not the Episcopalians act after this  
manner with the Presbyterians at the Re-  
storation, when these last propos'd the  
Terms on which they were ready to u-  
nite ? One wou'd be apt to wonder, as  
*Tully* says of the Augurs, how the High-  
flying Priests can keep their Countenance  
when they meet, and forbear downright  
laughing, to see what wretched Tools  
they make of the poor Laity, when they  
engage 'em to harass, ruin and destroy one  
another, to gratify their imposing Tem-  
per. But all I shall say more on this Head,  
is, If Men will take upon 'em to judg of  
the Heart, and make Laws against Hypo-  
crisy, 'tis strange they must only suffer,  
who by their known Principles must be  
Hypocrites, if they are not Occasional  
Conformists. Or can that Law be proper  
to prevent Hypocrisy, which, unless the  
Dissenters are honest Men, can have no  
other effect than to increase it ? For  
whosoever is so much a Hypocrite as to  
take the Sacrament contrary to his Con-  
science for a Place, will he not be tempt-  
ed, for Preservation of it, to continue his  
Hypocrisy ? I do not mean by going  
again



again to the Political Church, for that the Bill did not oblige him to, but in not going to a Dissenting Church; which is the readiest way to make him go to no Church, because one is contrary to his Conscience, and any of the others contrary to his Interest. So that the Bill had no Tendency to prevent Occasional Conformity, but Occasional Nonconformity; and possibly might do a knavish Dissenter so much Service, as to make him pass for one of High-Church, who oppos'd the obliging all in Offices to receive the Sacrament four times a year with such Arguments, as were they consistent with themselves, wou'd make 'em endeavour a Repeal of all Sacramental Tests.

44. Nothing can be more odd, than that the Universitys shou'd come in to this new Notion of Episcopacy, as necessary to the Being of a Christian Church; or in other words, that Men can't be united to Christ unless they are in Union with a Bishop; because they as well as all other exempt Places are united to no Bishop, being only subject to the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of the Deputy of a Lay-Chancellor; who tho generally a Presbyter, may be, and sometimes is in one of 'em a Layman, and might have been so in t'other, had not *Laud* alter'd it: and yet this Deputy of a Layman may excommunicate even those Bishops within whose Districts the Universitys are, as well as other Bishops, if by residing there, or by having a Contest with any  
Member

Member of those Bodys, they become sub-  
 ject to his Spiritual Jurisdiction. Nay,  
 each of the Universitys can, in spite of  
 the Bishops of both Provinces, authorize  
 a Man to preach all over England: And  
 several Colleges oblige Masters of Arts,  
 whether in Orders or not, to take a Text,  
 and formally to preach on it in their  
 Chappels. And it was so little thought  
 a Crime for Laymen to preach in the Uni-  
 versitys in Queen Elizabeth's time, that,  
 as Dr. Langbain and Mr. Fuller report, the  
 High-Sheriff of Oxford, Mr. Tavernour,  
 with his Gold Chain about his Neck and his  
 Sword by his side, preach'd before the  
 University of Oxford in St. Marys; and  
 this he did not out of Ostentation, but  
 Charity to the Scholars. So that the Uni-  
 versitys have as little reason as the Pres-  
 byterians to preach up the Necessity of  
 being united to a Bishop; and they are,  
 tho' they rail at the thing, at the best but  
 Occasional Conformists when they commu-  
 nicate with Churches subject to Bishops.  
 And nothing can better show the Sense of  
 the Clergy in former Times as to these  
 Points, than modelling the Universitys after  
 this manner, *on our to, bobbinob bla bving*  
 -43- If there's a Line of Succession on  
 which the very Being of the Church de-  
 pends, happy they who liv'd in the ear-  
 liest Days when the Line was intire; while  
 we at so great a distance can meet with  
 nothing except Uncertainty, Perplexity,  
 and Despair. How can the Majority of  
 the Christian World, the Simple and Un-  
 learned,

learned, judg when this Line is broke; and when not? What can be more absurd than to send 'em to Fathers, Councils, and Church-History, for their Information? If there was a particular Set of Men, who under a certain Form were to govern the Church, and this was necessary to its Being, Infinite Goodness wou'd no doubt have made it most conspicuous to the Bulk of Mankind who they are. But what other Judgment, upon this Hypothesis, can the most Knowing make, than that 'tis placing the Government of the Church on such a foot as must destroy the Church it self? as I shall now shew, and the rather, because the Papists, who so much boast of this Uninterrupted Line of Succession, may have no reason to insult any of the Reform'd Churches for want of it.

46. But I shall first examine the Popish Whimsy of an Indelible Character, which they urge to support the Chimera of an Uninterrupted Succession. They suppose that a Bishop can neither part with, forfeit, nor be depriv'd of the Power of ordaining Bishops and Priests; and consequently, that a Bishop, tho' he is excommunicated, depriv'd and degraded, or tho' he is guilty of Schism, Heresy, Infidelity, or even Atheism, yet that Spiritual Power runs as clearly thro' his Fingers ends into the Noddle of all he lays Hands on, as Water thro' a Conduit-Pipe.

47. Shou'd we allow an Indelible Character, yet the Papists make so many things necessary to the obtaining of it, that



that 'tis next to impossible they shou'd Chap. 9.  
 have been always regularly perform'd amongst 'em. But not to insist on these things, which they, more than others, suppose necessary to the obtaining of an Indelible Character; I say, that in case of Schism, where two pretend to the same See, the Schismatick cannot be Bishop of a See which before was fill'd with another; and if not of that he pretends to, much less of any other: and if he were not a Bishop before (the Translation of Bishops being a modern Practice, and contrary to the antient Canons of the Church), he was never in possession of the Indelible Character, and consequently was not capable of conveying it to another; which in the Church of Rome must be a bar to the Apostolical Succession, since there have been, as their own Historian, *Onuphrius* proves, at least thirty Schisms occasion'd by several, no less sometimes than five or six pretending to the Popedom at once: and one of their Schisms, lasted more than fifty years, when one Pope sat at Rome, and t'other at *Avignon*, thundring out all sorts of Curses and Censures against each other.

48. If Apostolical Power be only to be found in the Apostolick Churches, they who by Schism are cut off from the Church, must also be cut off from all Apostolical Power, and consequently no part of that, can be indelibly fixt in any Person: and where there's no Apostolical Power, there can be no Succession of it. A Right to govern

govern the Church by Apostolical Succession, and yet no Right to the Church or any of its Privileges (the Power which is the Adjunct, without the Church which is the Subject) is an Absurdity which equals Transubstantiation; and therefore one wou'd think that no Church which separated from *Rome* upon the account of her Absurditys, wou'd maintain so great a one as that of an Indelible Character.

If Schism destroys (as has been fully shown in this Chapter) all Apostolical Power and Succession, there can be no doubt that Heresy, Infidelity, and Atheism, do it as effectually: and they must be very fond of an Hypothesis, who can believe that Men, who are guilty of these, are capable of receiving or continuing Apostolical Power in the Catholick Church.

49. In a word, nothing can be more senseless than this Notion of an Indelible Character, because all Power, of what nature soever, convey'd by Men, is a Trust, and as such may be taken away, when the Persons intrusted with it act contrary to the Ends for which they were intrusted; of which those who intrusted 'em, must needs retain a Right to judg: and consequently Priests and Bishops may be reduc'd to the Lay-State they were at first in. And the Practice of the Clergy shows, that whatever they pretend, they themselves do not believe any Character bestow'd by them to be indelible: for what else is the meaning of Degradation? Can one  
be

be degraded from the Degree or Order of a Priest or Bishop, and yet continue in that Order? If so, to what end did the Papists degrade *John Huss*; *Jerom of Prague*, *Luther*, *Cranmer*? &c. And why did some modern Bishops and other Divines degrade the late Worthy Mr. *Samuel Johnson*? And why do some boast that a Clergyman is never executed, being before reduc'd to a Lay-State by Degradation? Why too many of the Clergy in this matter declare one thing, and practise the contrary, is, because the Custom of degrading or reducing Ecclesiasticks to a Lay-Communion, was in use many Ages before this Notion of I know not what peculiar and indelible Character was thought of, and so cou'd not well be discontinu'd afterwards. And tho in the primitive Times we have many Instances of Bishops, who were wholly depriv'd of their Office, and only admitted to Lay-Communion; yet that Favour was not always allow'd. For to instance in *Basilides*; he wou'd have been extremely glad if the Church had permitted him to communicate only as a Layman: And at *Rome* it self the Clergy were so far from thinking Orders indelibly plac'd on any, that the Council of *Valencia* under Pope *Damasus* injoin'd that all, whether of the Order of Deacon, Presbyter, or Bishop, convict of dently Sin, shou'd be remov'd from their Orders. And there are a great number of other Canons; which for several Crimes made Ordinations null and void; as when a

Cypri. Episc.  
68. 9. 7.  
P. 202.

Can. 4.



Dr. Burnet  
of Ordina-  
tion.

Man gets into an Ecclesiastical Office by Simony, or other corrupt means. And do not the Popish Historians confess, that for some Ages there was scarce a Pope made without most wicked and uncanonical Methods? Was not *Eugenius* with several others notoriously guilty of Simony, altho the Second Council of *Nice* declar'd the Orders of all Simoniacks to be void? And 'tis plain that in Pope *Stephen's* Time this Notion of Orders being Indelible did not obtain; for he null'd the Ordinations of *Constantine*, who from a Layman was chosen Pope, not staying so long in the intermediate Degrees as the Canons requir'd. Nor did this Opinion prevail even in *Stephen* the Sixth's Time, since upon the account of some Irregularitys he annull'd the Orders given by Pope *Formosus*; and after that, as *Platina* observes, it became customary for the following infallible Popes to undo the Acts of their Predecessors. So that *Bellarmino*, who is not often guilty of any thing which tends to the Disadvantage of the Roman See, is forc'd to acknowledge, " That for above eighty Years together, the Church, for want of a lawful Pope, had no other Head than what was in Heaven. Which whether it destroys the Uninterrupted Succession of a visible Head, let our as well as their Clergy consider. And does not *Baronius* talk much to the same purpose, in saying; " How deform'd was the Roman Church, when Whores, no less powerful than vile, bore the chief sway at *Rome*, and " at

Tom. 10.  
Ann. 900.

“ at their pleasure chang’d Sees, and ap- Chap 9.  
 “ pointed Bishops ; and, which is horrible  
 “ to mention, did thrust into St. Peter’s  
 “ See their own Gallants, false Popes?  
 “ Christ was then, it seems, in a very  
 “ deep Sleep ; and, which was worse,  
 “ when the Lord was thus asleep, there  
 “ were no Disciples to awaken him, being  
 “ themselves all fast asleep. . What kind of  
 “ Cardinals can we think were chosen by  
 “ those Monsters? &c.

50. One of the Learned and Judicious  
 Examiners of *Bellarmino’s* Notes of the  
 Church, saith, “ ’Tis probable that the  
 “ Roman Church wants a Head, and that  
 “ there is now no true Pope, nor has been  
 “ for many Ages, for that Church to be  
 “ united to : for by their own Confession  
 “ a Pope Simoniacally chosen, a Pope in-  
 “ truded by Violence, a Heretick, and  
 “ therefore sure an Atheist or an Infidel,  
 “ is no true Pope : and many such there  
 “ have been of one sort or other, whose  
 “ Acts in creating Cardinals, &c. (which  
 “ &c. includes Bishops and Priests, and all  
 “ other Orders) “ being invalid, ’tis ex-  
 “ ceeding probable that the whole Suc-  
 “ cession has upon this account fail’d long  
 “ ago, &c. If so, let this Author sup-  
 port the Succession of his own Church if  
 he can.

51. If any Christian, as has been already  
 prov’d, may exercise any Ecclesiastical  
 Function if set apart by the People for  
 that purpose ; and infinite Absurditys  
 follow from not allowing ’em the liberty  
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of making and unmaking their own Ministers, the Custom of their having the Approbation of some Bishops before they are admitted to the Exercise of their Office, can't be of Divine Appointment; much less can the Power of making Bishops and Priests be indelibly fixt in all or any of them. But it being a Custom among the first Christians, which they borrow'd of the Jews, when a Request was offer'd to God in behalf of any one of the Congregation, for those only who officiated to lay Hands upon him (it being inconvenient for the whole Number to do it) and this being observ'd when a Person was set apart by the People for the Ministry, the Clergy, because they laid Hands on him, when the Congregation pray'd that God wou'd assist him in the Discharge of his Office, wou'd have their performing that Ceremony (which cou'd not signify their then constituting an Ecclesiastical Officer, but that he was already constituted) a Pretence for claiming the sole Power of making him, and that they gave him, as the Apostles did by laying on of Hands, certain Spiritual Graces and Gifts, which they wou'd have thought necessary to qualify him for administering in Holy Things. And this they call'd *giving Orders, Ordination, Ordinating, and Ordaining*; which Words may be apply'd to Lawyers, Physicians, or Men of any other Rank or Order, as well as to them: for *Order* signify'd nothing more at first than that when any was set apart by the Faith-

†

ful



ful for the Ministry, he then was reckon'd Chap. 9.  
of the Rank or Order of the Clergy, as he  
was before of the Order of the Laity; both  
which Orders are mention'd by antient  
Writers. But the Bishops, to create a higher  
Reverence and Authority for themselves, pre-  
tended to the same Divine Power that the  
Apostles had; and because these laid Hands  
on the Baptiz'd, that they might receive Acts 8, 27.  
the Holy Ghost, the Bishops did the same  
first at the time of Baptism, but now fif-  
teen or twenty Years after: and this the  
Papists call the Sacrament of *Confirmation*,  
and make it not only peculiar to a Bishop,  
but part of his Indelible Character. But the  
Popish Bishops might, by putting Clay and  
Spittle on the eyes of the Blind, as well pre-  
tend to open them as Christ did, as to ima-  
gine they can, like the Apostles, bestow the  
Holy Ghost by laying on of Hands. So be-  
cause the Apostles had the Power of casting  
out Devils, nothing was more frequent with  
'em than the exorcising of evil Spirits; and  
there was a peculiar Order in the Church  
call'd *Exorcists*, which the Papists, the great  
Followers of Antiquity, keep up to this day.  
And therefore 'tis no wonder the People,  
when made to believe that the Bishops by  
laying on of Hands cou'd bestow such Spi-  
ritual Qualifications as they pretended to  
give, shou'd think it unlawful to admit any  
to officiate, who had not Hands laid on  
him; and at last that the Bishops shou'd get  
the sole Power to themselves of making Ec-  
clesiasticks, on pretence that it belongs to  
them to ordain 'em; nay, that the Power

of doing this was a Character indelibly fixt in every one of 'em. But they abus'd the People as much with relation to Excommunication; and from being the Mouth of the Congregation only, in declaring their Judgments, and pronouncing their Sentences, by degrees they assum'd the sole Power of Excommunication. So because they were sometimes consulted about Questions relating to Nearness of Blood, and to Marriages, they made that a Handle to subject to themselves all Matters of Divorces, of Nullitys, and all other Matrimonial Causes: by which means they brought things of the greatest consequence, such as Inheritances of Princes as well as private Persons, under their power; and were wonderfully courted for dispensing with those Degrees which they themselves had on purpose prohibited. So from being Arbitrators, when it was thought not convenient to go to Law before the Heathen, they claim'd a formal Judicial Power in other matters. And so from being sometimes advis'd with about a proper Method for subduing inordinate Desires, they claim'd a Right to inflict Penances: and when they had once obtain'd Power by such means as these, they tortur'd a great many stubborn Texts, to make 'em confess a Divine Right.

52. We no more read in Scripture of two distinct Acts, as Election by the Church, and Ordination by the Clergy, for making of Elders, than we read of two sorts of 'em; but only of the Apostles constituting of Elders by the Suffrages of

of the People: which, as it is the genuine Chap. 9.  
 Signification of the Greek Word, so it is  
 accordingly interpreted by *Erasmus*, *Beza*,  
*Diodati*, and those who translated the  
*Switz*, *French*, *Italian*, *Belgick*, and even  
*English* Bibles till the Episcopal Correction,  
 which leaves out the words by *Election*, as  
 well as the Marginal Notes, which affirm,  
*That the Apostles did not thrust Pastors into*  
*the Church thro' a Lordly Superiority, but*  
*chose and plac'd 'em by the Voice of the*  
*Congregation.* Of the Truth of this Cle- Ep. 1. ad  
*mens Romanus*, a Cotemporary, if not Com- Cor. p. 57.  
 panion of the Apostles, is a Witness: and  
 Pope *Anacletus*, who liv'd not long after,  
 affirms this Right belongs to the *Spiri-*  
*tual* People, and good Priests. And there's  
 no Instance in the first three Centurys of  
 any one being made a Bishop, except by  
 the Election of the whole Church. And  
 this Practice continu'd, with little or no  
 interruption, for many Ages after; and *Fa. Paul*  
 even in *Rome* it self the People till 1147. *Ben. Matt.*  
 elected their Bishop: and the famous Coun- S. 117.  
 cil of *Nice*, in a Synodical Epistle to the *Theodor.*  
 Church of *Alexandria*, forbids any to be I. i. c. 8. p.  
 ordain'd Bishop without the Election of the 547. Ed. i.  
 People: and the Council of *Constantinople*  
 382. in an Epistle to *Damasus* and others,  
 say that they ordain'd *Nectarius cuncta de-* Hist. Tri-  
*cernente Civitate*, and *Flavianus omni Eccle-* part. 1. 9.  
*sia decernente.* And the first Canon of the c. 14. p.  
 fourth Council of *Carthage* 394. says, a 146.  
 Bishop is to be ordain'd *cum omni consensu* Concil.  
*Clericorum & Laicorum.* And another Cabilon.  
 Council, even in 650. make the Ordination *Sirmond.*  
 of I. i. p. 491



Of Benefic.  
Matters,  
§. 29.

of a Bishop to be void, where he is not elected by the People. And Father *Paul* saith, " That Pope *Leo* shews amply that the Ordination of a Bishop cou'd not be lawful or valid, which was not requir'd or sought for by the People, and by them approv'd of; which is said by all the Saints of those Times : and St. *Gregory* thought *Constance* cou'd not be consecrated Bishop of *Milan*, being elected by the Clergy without the Consent of the Citizens, who by reason of Persecution retir'd to *Genoa* : and he prevail'd that they shou'd be first sent unto to know their Will; a thing worthy to be noted in our days, when that Election is declar'd to be illegitimate and null, in which the People have any share. Thus things are chang'd and pass'd into a quite contrary Custom, calling that Lawful which then was accounted Wicked, and that Unjust which then was reputed Holy. This, I think, makes it plain that the Bishops themselves did not for several Centurys imagine that the Right of making Bishops was appropriated by God to them, much less that this was an Indelible Character imprinted on them, when we see that they thought all they did in this matter was null, except where there was a previous Election of the People; which, if the Ordaining (taking that Word for Constituting or Appointing) Bishops had by Divine Right belong'd only to that Order, wou'd be so far from being necessary, that it wou'd be Sacrilege

lege in the People to meddle with it. But Chap. 9. if the Power of chusing Ecclesiastical Officers does naturally or of course belong to the People, their Choice alone is all that's necessary, P. 154, as has been already prov'd, except there's 155, 156, some Law of God which divides the Power 176, 177, of making Ecclesiasticks between them 178. and the Bishops. And had the Apostles been charg'd to declare to Mankind that God had depriv'd the People of those Rights, either in whole or in part, which the permissive Law of Nature allow'd 'em, they wou'd no doubt have declar'd it in such Terms as shou'd have made it as plain to all succeeding Generations that they had lost those Rights, as that once they had 'em. The utmost which Precedents can do, is to shew that if we were in the same Circumstances with the primitive Christians, it was lawful or expedient, but not necessary, to act as they did: and 'tis as ridiculous to suppose we are more oblig'd to take *Crete* or *Ephesus* for a Pattern in managing our Ecclesiastical than our Civil Affairs, unless there's some Law which commands it: and then no doubt we shou'd have had an exact Description of their Practice. And tho the manner of making Deacons or Overseers of the Poor is more particularly declar'd with all its Circumstances, than can be pretended for the making of Elders; yet none think we are any more oblig'd to take that Method in providing for the Poor, than we are to have a Community of Goods, because it was practis'd by the first Christians; but that

that People may, notwithstanding any thing said there, appoint what Deacons or Overseers they think fit for the Poor, and make 'em after what manner they please, no Ecclesiastick having more Power from God than any other. And the Right of appointing Clergymen wou'd be as little disputed as the making Overseers for the Poor, if no more was to be got by it.

53. It is said the People are to act according to Discretion in providing for the Poor, and appointing what Officers they please to look after them, because they have the Power of disposing their Alms as they think fit. But wou'd not this have given 'em as great a Power with relation to their Ecclesiastical Ministers, since they alike subsisted by their Alms? And this is so notorious, that in the antient Roman Missals the Priest said, *Remember, O Lord, thy Servants and Handmaids, who make me subsist by their Alms, which was daily deliver'd out to 'em in Food.* And Father Paul observes that the altering that Method, and giving 'em their separate Proportion in Money every day, or for a month together or longer, was declining from the primitive Perfection.

54. Tho the laying on of Hands was us'd in the Old Testament, when General Joshua and other Civil Officers were made; yet we do not find the Levites ordain'd with that Ceremony, unless we say they were ordain'd by the People when the Lord said to Moses, *Thou shalt gather the whole Assembly of the Children of Israel together, and bring the Levites before the Lord; and the Children of Israel shall*

Per. Sim.  
History of  
Eccles. Re-  
venues,  
p. 46.  
Beneficiary  
Matters,  
p. 14.

Numb. 8.  
9—12.



shall put their Hands upon the Levites; and Chap. 9.  
 Aaron shall offer the Levites before the Lord.

for an Offering of the Children of Israel, that  
 they may execute the Service of the Lord; and  
 the Levites shall lay their Hands upon the  
 Heads of the Bullocks. So that the Levites

were not qualify'd to lay Hands on the Beasts  
 that were to be sacrific'd, before they had  
 Hands laid on them by the Laity: and the  
 Levites by being the Offering of the People  
 to the Lord, became consecrated or quali-  
 fy'd to execute the Service of the Lord.

And Brother *Ananias* laying Hands on *Paul*  
 may as well be urg'd for Laymens laying  
 Hands on a Bishop, as *Paul's* laying Hands  
 on *Timothy* may be urg'd for Bishops per-  
 forming that Ceremony; which Ceremony,  
 no Law enjoining it, as the Church was at  
 liberty to continue or not, so whatsoever  
 Power the Clergy more than others had in  
 the making of Elders, there being no Di-  
 vine Law which determines any thing in  
 this matter, must come from the Consent  
 of the Partys concern'd. Nor have we, as  
 I think, any Instances for the first three  
 Centurys of the Clergy's refusing to lay  
 Hands on any the Church had chosen: and  
 when Princes took upon 'em to name to the  
 vacant Sees, they thought the Bishops were  
 oblig'd to consecrate those they nam'd.  
 Nor did the Bishops themselves refuse;  
 and the Emperors for a long time together,  
 as *Dr. Burnet* proves, exercis'd the same  
 power in making Popes, as our Kings do in  
 making Bishops, where those they autho-  
 rize to perform the Ceremony of Consec-

*Discourse of  
 Ordination,*

cration,

cration, act ministerially, and by virtue of the Royal Mandate.

55. How comes a Bishop's Power of Ordination to be more indelible than the Share of Legislation, or the Jurisdiction he claims, if they are alike of Divine Original? In what Law of God is this Distinction to be found? And if it be by virtue of his Bishoprick he has this as well as the rest of his Power, must not the Loss of that deprive him of one as well as of the other? How can a depriv'd Bishop convey to others that Government or Jurisdiction which he himself can't pretend to have? Or how can the Canons forbid a Bishop, whether depriv'd or not, to ordain in another's Diocese, if he has a Divine Right indelibly fixt in him to ordain over the whole Church? Which is supposing one Bishop to have such a Right as he himself can't part with, and yet that others can forbid him to exercise it. Divines usually distinguish between a Right to an Office, and a Right to execute an Office: but what is a Right to execute an Office, if not to do those things in which the Office consists? And can any have a Right to an Office without having a Right to do those things in which the Office consists? So that 'tis an Ecclesiastical Figure, by Laymen commonly call'd a *Bull*, to distinguish between 'em. And if the Priesthood too be an Indelible Character, no Priest can be hinder'd, no not for a time, from doing those things in which the Priesthood consists; and it must destroy all the Schemes of Ecclesiastical

tical Government which have been yet in Chap. 9.  
the World.

56. In a word, no one can be appointed to govern a particular District, or to be a Pastor of any Congregation, if not by the Consent of the Partys concern'd, except by a Legislative Power; because Legislation alone can make it a Duty in the People to acknowledg him for their Bishop or Pastor. But as there can't be two Legislative Powers over the same People, so the Bishops with us are allow'd no other Power in this matter than that the People or Patron can't appoint any Pastor who is not first licens'd or approv'd by some one of 'em; which I will not deny may be proper enough to be permitted to Bishops who are not depriv'd. But nothing can be more strange than to allow this Licensing Privilege to Popish Bishops, or to those who are thrown out of their Districts for being in the Interest of an Enemy to our Religion and Government, and who condemn our Church as Schismatical. But enough on this Head. And now I shall, as I promis'd, endeavour to prove that this Hypothesis, which supposes the Being of the Catholick Church depends upon a right Succession of true Bishops, and that none can be a true Bishop who derives not his Power and Government in a Line of Succession from the Apostles, destroys the very Being of the Catholick Church.

57. If in so long a Process of time, as that from the Apostles, there's no Civil Govern-



Government where the Succession has been preserv'd intire; can it be imagin'd that Ecclesiastical Government has been better kept, and not so much as one Link in the whole Chain broken; especially considering a Succession of Doctrines as well as Persons is necessary, and that Schism and Heresy break this Chain?

*Doctrine of the Ch. of England concerning the Independency of the Clergy,*  
S. 33.

Mr. Dodwell, whom all must allow to be as well vers'd in Ecclesiastical History, as he is zealous for Episcopal Succession, cou'd not avoid owning, "That in a Revolution of Ages, there's no Succession in the World, but has some unjustifiable Turn. Nor is there, says he, any thing in the nature of Ecclesiastical Government, as 'tis a Government of external Bodys, manag'd by Men of like Infirmitys with those who are engag'd with Civil Government, that can secure it against the like Violences of ambitious and unreasonable Men, who wou'd judg too partially in their own Case. Such Violences on the Government may sometimes make a Breach in the due Succession, and affect the direct Conveyances of that Authority from God, which is requisite to the giving a Title to those Spiritual Benefits to Souls, which are the great Design of Ecclesiastical Communion.

58. And if we needed another Confession in so clear a Case, the Author of *the Case of the Regale, &c.* a most furious Man for the Divine Right of Episcopacy, very frankly owns, "That it wou'd be hard to find a Bishop against whom some of these

“ these Objections (relating to Succession) Chap. 9.  
“ do not lie : for example, all the Bi-  
“ shops of the Reformation, as well in  
“ *England* as elsewhere, are struck off at  
“ one blow ; for they all deriv’d from  
“ those whom they now account to be,  
“ and then to have been Hereticks. And  
“ the Ordinations of the Church of *Rome*  
“ must go off too, especially since the  
“ Council of *Constance*, that turn’d out  
“ all the Popes that were then in the  
“ World, which were three Antipopes  
“ contending one with another. And they  
“ cannot say of any of their Ordinations  
“ at this day, that they are not deriv’d  
“ from some of the Antipopes. Nay, all  
“ the Churches, as far as the *Arian* Heresy  
“ reach’d, may come under this Objec-  
“ tion ; for many of their Ordinations  
“ were deriv’d from some or other who  
“ were *Arians*, *Semi-Arians*, &c. Nor  
are we to stop here, since, as far as we  
have any Ecclesiastical History, we find  
the Christians divided into a great number  
of Sects ; each pretending to be the true  
Successors of the Apostles, and excluding  
the rest from being Members of the Ca-  
tholick Church, either as Hereticks or  
Schismatics. And the nature of Schism is  
acknowledg’d by the Clergy to be so exten-  
sive, that not only they who cause the Breach,  
but those who communicate with ’em, or  
with those they communicate with, are guilty  
of it.

59. And when Princes became Christians,  
they every where depriv’d Bishops for  
Matters

Matters relating to State, as well as Church; whose Deprivations being invalid, as by this Hypothesis they must be, those who succeeded 'em cou'd be no Bishops.

To which it may be added, that great numbers have been made Bishops who were not rightfully elected. And this must needs be so, since Councils have determin'd contrary ways about the Right of Election: And a Choice made by Persons who have no Right to chuse, is an Error of the first Concoction, not to be repair'd. Some have been put into Sees, of which they were incapable by the Canons; others canonically depriv'd, have remain'd in their Sees; some turn'd out of the Church by Excommunication, have continu'd to exercise their Episcopal Function in the Church. And can such as these any more maintain the Succession, than Persons who are not validly baptiz'd, both as to Matter and Form? And if Women are not capable of baptizing, since the Church of *Rome* allows of it, That alone might have strange effect on the Succession.

60. If the Succession in the Church of *Rome*, which pretends to have had so great a Care in the preserving it, has, as we have prov'd in this Chapter, been destroy'd; we have no reason to think it intire in any other Church: And then, in what a miserable Condition is the Christian World! For God himself cannot make a Succession which has been broke, not to have been broke. And when once those Spiritual Powers, suppos'd necessary for the Being of



a Christian Church have fail'd for want of a Chap. 9:  
 due Succession; it is the same thing as if they  
 never had been. This, instead of building  
 the Church on a Rock, is placing it on a very  
 sandy Foundation.

61. All that is said to help the poor  
 Church in this lamentable condition, is  
 urg'd by the charitable Mr. Dodwell; " That  
 " this Breach of the Succession is a Ne- *Independ.*  
 " cessity of God's making, in constituting *of the Cler-*  
 " his Church such a Body, when he *gy, §. 38.*  
 " might have made it otherwise. And be-  
 " ing a Necessity of God's Contrivance, by  
 " Man perfectly unavoidable, his Equity  
 " is more oblig'd to provide for the Con-  
 " sequence. And he makes as to this  
 point no difference between Ecclesiastical *Defence of*  
 and Civil Government, but saith, " Both *the Vindic.*  
 " are usually chang'd by Prescription; *of the De-*  
 " which by the Laws of Nations, and with *priv'd Bi-*  
 " relation to the Good of Mankind, and *shops, §. 46.*  
 " Government in general, is in process of  
 " time sufficient to extinguish an Original  
 " Right; and make that Right, which at  
 " first was no other than Invasion and Vio-  
 " lence: and that Nullity in tract of time  
 " may be in full force. But,

If God intended the Clergy shou'd have  
 an Independent Power, and that it shou'd  
 be convey'd by way of Succession; I de-  
 mand whether he design'd this Succession to  
 last to the end of the World, or for a time  
 only? If to the end of the World, will  
 it not argue a want of Foresight in God,  
 to contrive such a Medium for the convey-  
 ing of this Power, as must in some short  
 time

time fail? Or rather, is it not to make God act inconsistently, and design perfect Contradictions? For what can be more so, than to intend a Succession to continue to the End of the World; and at the same time manage matters so, that it must in a short time fail, thro a Contrivance of God's own, by Man perfectly unavoidable? But,

If the Succession was to continue only for a time, is it not as ridiculous to insist on it when the time is expir'd as the only Title to Church-Government, as 'tis to pretend the only Right to Civil Government is founded on being *Adam's* Heir (about which some even now keep such a mighty pother) when 'tis impossible to find out this Heir?

62. To be short, nothing can be plainer (if that Power which was suppos'd to be given by Revelation to certain Persons and their Successors, for the Government of the Church, has fail'd for want of a due Succession) than that the Church is either dissolv'd for want of such Governors, or else the People have sufficient Power within themselves to manage their Church Affairs, and to give some of their Body a Right to exercise all Ecclesiastical Offices. And,

If Prescription, as this Author owns, can make mere Nullitys to become good and valid, nay, cause that to be Right which at first was Invasion and Violence, the Laity may be capable of all manner of Ecclesiastical Power: for their seizing on it can be only Violence and Invasion, and was a mere Nullity at first. And this he acknowledges in the Instances he gives of

“ the *Macedonians*, first, and the *Romans*  
 “ afterwards, by Prescription acquiring a  
 “ Right of making and unmaking High  
 “ Priests at their pleasure. And those  
 made by the last, we cannot doubt to be  
 lawful and rightful, since Christ himself  
 communicated with ’em. Nay, he suppo-  
 ses “ the Case to be the same with the  
 “ *Greeks*, who, as he saith, are brought  
 “ to that pass now, that their Patriarchs  
 “ have not their Power for their Lives,  
 “ but during the pleasure of the Infidel  
 “ Magistrate. Which necessarily supposes  
 the Clergy have no supernatural Powers or  
 Privileges; which being out of the reach  
 of Force and Violence, the Magistrate can  
 never by such carnal Weapons gain a Right  
 by Prescription to deprive any one of ’em.  
 And if the unbelieving Magistrates have no  
 Spiritual Powers, their Creatures, High-  
 Priests and Patriarchs, whom they make and  
 unmake at pleasure, can have as little as their  
 Creators.

63. This Author wou’d do the World no  
 small kindness in letting ’em know, how  
 long Time is necessary for Lay-Prescription  
 in Spiritual Matters, to pass into a Right;  
 (because till then ’tis Schism, and as he saith,  
 Heresy too, not to adhere to a Bishop de-  
 priv’d by Lay-Powers; but then it must be  
 the same to adhere to him.

And, this I demand the rather, because  
 ever since the Reformation our Legislators  
 have priv’d both Bishops and Priests,  
 and the Crown upon an Appeal is intrusted  
 with the Power of doing it. And if so  
 long



long a Time is sufficient to create a Right, then our Author, and the rest of the Men of the true Church of *England* (as they term themselves) are by their own Principles guilty of Schism and Heresy, in adhering to the late Bishops. Nay,

This Author must either acknowledg himself and the rest of the Nonjurors Schismatics and Heretics, or else own that the *Jewish* and *Greek* Churches were dissolv'd by the Magistrate's depriving their High-Priests and Patriarchs: for if he had not a Power to do this without the help of Prescription, their Deprivation must be at first invalid, and they retain'd, as still obliging in Conscience, all their Spiritual Power; and those who intruded into their Places were (to use his Expression) *nulli foras alieni*; who, as they had no Title themselves, so they cou'd convey none to any other. And therefore this Hypothesis can't preserve either the *Jewish* or *Greek* Church, without owning that the Magistrate, tho an Infidel, had this Power even from the beginning belonging to him. And if Infidels have this Power, it wou'd be absurd in him to deny it (Supreme Power being every where the same) to Christian Magistrates. Nor,

64. Can Prescription be of any force, except in those things only which have no higher Original than Human Consent. To prescribe in things of a Divine Origin, is prescribing against God himself. But if Prescription, which is only a tacit or presum'd Consent, gives a Right, certainly that

that which is express does as fully; and Chap. 9.  
therefore the Magistrate can gain nothing  
by Prescription, except what the People by  
their express Consent are able to give him.  
But,

65. Prescription, Length of Time, Laws  
of Nations, which only relate to things  
transacted between different Nations, have  
nothing to do in giving a Right upon  
Change of Government; because as Men  
must needs be in a State of Nature, in all  
Cases where the Suddenness of the Danger  
hinders 'em from having recourse to the  
Magistrate; so they are wholly in that  
State, when their Governors, by Abdic-  
ation or any other ways, become incapable  
of protecting 'em: and then the Right  
they have of acting for their own Good,  
of which they can't divest themselves, ob-  
liges 'em, notwithstanding any Oaths or  
Obligations they were under to their for-  
mer Governors, to come out of that State,  
by having recourse to those Powers which  
are best able to protect 'em; who the first  
minute the People have by Words or Acti-  
ons own'd 'em, have the same Right to  
their Obedience, as if they had been settl'd  
a thousand years. But were Men oblig'd  
not to own the Government in whose  
Power they were, till it cou'd plead Pre-  
scription, in what a miserable Condition  
must they be? because they who disown it  
must be as much in the State of outlaw'd  
Persons, as if the Government had dis-  
own'd 'em; which wou'd not only provoke  
the Government to treat 'em as sworn E-  
nemy,

nemys, but subject them and theirs to the Insult of every one. And considering how frequent Revolutions are, there wou'd be few Governments which Men of these Principles cou'd own, one Usurpation generally succeeding another, before any had obtain'd a Right by Prescription. But if we are to be govern'd by the Good of Mankind (since the less time a Government has been settl'd, the more need it has of Rest) That requires Obedience at the very first, and not to stay till Prescription has gain'd a suppos'd Right; which is an Hypothesis so very absurd, that no Persons were ever influenc'd by it, no not this Author himself, nor any of the other *Jacobites*, who contend so zealously for it; since,

66. Tho they pretend 'tis against their Consciences to own the present Government for want of a sufficient Prescription, Length of Time, &c. yet 'tis in Words only: for by their Actions they do, and have all along own'd it, in claiming all manner of Protection from it, which is sufficiently acknowledging any Government: for he that's willing not to be a Prey to every one who is too strong for him, but to be protected by the Government, must be willing, tho he pretends ever so much the contrary, to pay it all the Obedience necessary for that end. And if he thinks it lawful to allow the Government a coercive Power over all others, to hinder 'em from injuring him; he must think it as lawful that it shou'd have the same to restrain him from injuring them.

And



And in appealing to the Courts of Justice Chap. 9.  
 he owns himself ready to submit to the  
 Determination of the Judges, and conse-  
 quently to the Laws and Authority by  
 which they act, and in whose Name all  
 Processes are.

67. In the State of Nature every one  
 was to judg for himself; and Men came  
 out of that State, when they had recourse  
 to a common Umpire, to determine Disfe-  
 rences, and redress Injurys by known and  
 stated Laws. And are not the *Jacobites* in  
 the State of Nature still, for any Protection  
 they receive from the pretended *James* the  
 Third, or those commission'd by him? And  
 if having constant recourse to a Govern-  
 ment for its Protection be not owning it,  
 nothing is; since 'tis That alone which  
 makes the difference between a Natural and  
 a Political State. And they who allow  
 the Governors of the Country they live in  
 all that's necessary to protect 'em (and who is  
 so much a *Jacobite* as not to be willing to do  
 that?) grants 'em all they can justly claim;  
 because if they extend their Power to other  
 Ends, they exceed their Commission, and  
 turn Tyrants.

68. And 'tis by these Actions, in common  
 to the *Jacobites* with other Subjects, that  
 the greatest part of Mankind ever own'd  
 any Government. And shou'd Men once  
 think themselves bound in Conscience to  
 destroy that Government to which they  
 have recourse for Protection in their Lives,  
 Familys, and Propertys, for no other rea-  
 son than because it has not protected 'em

for a long time together, which yet it wou'd do, did not they themselves endeavor to prevent it; what a havock wou'd this make in the World? And what a miserable Uncertainty must the Bulk of Mankind be reduc'd to, if the Lawfulness of Obedience must depend on contested Titles, or a sufficient Prescription, the certain time of which none can assign? So that Men of these Principles, instead of being influenc'd by the Good of the World, the Foundation on which this Author wou'd build his Hypothesis, may be justly reckon'd common Enemies to Mankind.

By what's here said, 'tis plain, if Ecclesiastical Government is chang'd after the same manner as Civil, both are built on the Consent of the People; and consequently the *Jacobites* have no Pretence from what this Author has said concerning Prescription, Laws of Nations, or the Good of Mankind, not to submit to the present Government in Church and State.

69. This Author has given up the Cause of Prescription in the *Case in View Consider'd*, a Pamphlet just now publish'd; because he there supposes the Death or Resignation of the Depriv'd Bishops (which might have happen'd immediately on their Deprivation) sufficient to give a Right to the present Possessors. But if the second Donation was, as he saith, null and invalid, by the Donors having exhausted their whole Power by the first Donation, I wou'd know of him the Difference between an invalid Do-  
 † nation

nation and no Donation; or what Spiritua- Chap. 9.  
lity's the suppos'd Usurpers can have, and  
by whom they were convey'd. So I wou'd  
likewise ask him, what other reason his Bi-  
shops, who have not presum'd to do any  
Episcopal Acts since their Lay Deprivation,  
cou'd have not to resign all this while, ex-  
cept it were to keep the Nation in Commu-  
nion with the Devil, as he affirms all Schis-  
maticks to be.

*Occas. Com.*  
n. 21, 22.

Another thing I wou'd ask him is,  
Whether all he had said to heal a broken  
Succession, is not destroy'd by his affirm-  
ing, " That the Church requires Gover-  
" nours authoriz'd by God, more than  
" other Civil Society's do; and that he has  
" not given Men reason to expect that  
" when the Breach shall fall, he will extra-  
" ordinarily empower Men? &c. And  
therefore he concludes, " that the only  
" way for securing the Church, is by se-  
" curing the Succession. But now 'tis more  
than time to have done with this Profound  
Author, admir'd abroad as well as at home  
for his great Learning in Ecclesiastical Mat-  
ters, and his deep Skill in Controversys of  
this nature, and to proceed to other Argu-  
ments.

*Defence of  
the Vindic,  
of the De-  
priv'd Bi-  
shops, p.  
101.*

C H A P.



## CHAP. X.

That the Catholick Church consists of several Bodys Independent on each other; and that none of these have Power to make Clergymen, except for themselves; and that the contrary Opinion necessarily supposes a Universal Bishop or Pope.

**T**HOUGH 'twere easy to prove that every Congregation, how small soever, gather'd together in the Name of Christ, is a compleat Body Politick with respect to Ecclesiasticals, as having every thing within it self requisite to the Being of a Church; yet I shall not insist on it, because 'tis sufficient to my present purpose, if every Christian Nation be so: and if England, for instance, were not such a Body, we have neither any Ecclesiastical Laws nor Persons among us, because we neither have nor desire the Consent or Approbation of any other Persons in the making either of 'em. Nay, is not the Reformation built on this, and do not our Clergy and others swear to disown any foren

foren Power, Jurisdiction, and Authority Chap. 10  
 whatsoever in Ecclesiasticals? And do not  
 all Protestant Nations claim the same Pow-  
 er? If it be otherwise in Popish Countrys,  
 'tis only their Folly or Ignorance which  
 causes 'em to be impos'd on by the Bishop of  
 Rome.

2. What Argument is there to prove  
 any Nation to be a compleat Body Pol-  
 itick for Civils, except that they have  
 as to Those a Legislative and Executive  
 Power? And will not the same hold as  
 strongly in Ecclesiasticals? And if they  
 who have the Supreme Temporal Power  
 in one Country, cannot give one a Right  
 to exercise any Civil Jurisdiction, or even  
 any Ministerial Office, in another not sub-  
 ject to them; the Reason is equally con-  
 cluding as to Ecclesiasticals. And by the  
 same reason, he who is excommunicated in  
 one National Church, is no more so in any  
 other, than one who is outlaw'd in one  
 Country is so in others.

3. In a word, when any Power gives  
 one a Right to exercise any Employ what-  
 soever, that Right can extend no farther  
 than his Power does who bestow'd it, and  
 can never be made to reach to any Inde-  
 pendent Place. And therefore 'tis evident  
 that he who is made a Priest or Bishop in  
 one Nation, is only a mere Layman in  
 another; where if his Acts are valid,  
 without any new Ordination, or Consecra-  
 tion, &c. it can be upon no other foot,  
 than that the Consent of the People is  
 sufficient to authorize one to exercise any  
 part

part of the Ecclesiastical Function, and that the Clergy (since there cannot be two Originals of the same Power) derive all their Right from thence. And as every Church in the Apostles time was Independent of any other; so the Elders or Bishops were ordain'd only for a particular City, or Church within that City; and consequently, out of it they had no more Right to exercise an Ecclesiastical Office than any other Christian.

4. To avoid these Consequences, it is said, That every Nation is not a compleat Body Politick within it self as to Ecclesiasticals; but the whole Church, say they, composes such a Body, and Christ is the Head of it.

But Christ's Headship makes Christians no more one Body Politick with respect to Ecclesiasticals than to Civils. His Precepts equally extend to both, and the whole Earth is God's and Christ's Kingdom; and yet the Kingdoms of the Earth are distinct and independent of one another, and so are all National Churches.

But, If Church-Government does not in every Nation flow from the Consent of the Partys concern'd, but was plac'd by God in the Apostles and their Successors; then since each of the Apostles and each of their Successors cou'd not (that implying a Contradiction) have the Government of the whole Church, each must have a Part only, or all must be so join'd as to make only one Govern-



Government; or else the Supreme Power Chap. 10 must be lodg'd in one, and the rest be no other than his Deputys.

5. As to the First: If each of the Apostles was a Governor of a Part only of the Church, That must during their Lives be divided into as many independent Bodys, as there were Apostles; and after their Death, into as many more, as they had Successors; each of which being Supreme in his own Diocess, cou'd have no Superior except God, to whom alone he's accountable: and consequently all the Bishops in the World cou'd not inflict the least Spiritual Censure on him, for that wou'd make him accountable to his Equals, who cou'd make no Laws relating to his District, because the Supreme Government of that belongs to him independently of all others. Nor cou'd any Synodical Acts, tho all the Bishops shou'd agree, bind any of their Successors, since they have their Authority by the same Divine Right, and as independently as their Predecessors. Nor can the Acts of any one of 'em, whether of Excommunication, Ordination, &c. reach further than the Church within his Bishoprick, because all other Churches are under Independent Governors of their own; and consequently as to them he is a mere private Person.

These things (not to mention any others) sufficiently demonstrate that the Government of the Church was not so divided among the Apostles first, and their pretended Successors afterwards, as that each

each was Supreme and Independent in a particular District.

6. As to the Second: If the Government of the Church was in all the Apostles so united as to make only one Supreme Power; no less than a Majority cou'd make Laws, or dispose of Offices and Employs: and this wou'd be the same in relation to their Successors, and consequently all the Bishops of the Catholick Church must be so united as to make only one Government; which supposes a Necessity of their being form'd into an Assembly, in order to debate and conclude things by a Majority, and that none cou'd have a Right to any Ecclesiastical Office, except what he must derive immediately or mediately from this Grand Senate: and whosoever had any Church-Power or Jurisdiction, must act as their Deputy, by an Authority deriv'd from them, to whom the last Appeal upon all occasions wou'd be: and for any other besides them to attempt to make Laws or Canons for the Church, or any Part thereof, wou'd be Spiritual Treason and Rebellion. But there never was a General Assembly of Bishops (at least till the Empire became Christian) and consequently from the Decease of the Apostles to that time, the Church was without Government, and so she must have been ever since the Empire was cantoniz'd into so many Provinces. And this holds, especially among the Protestants, where each Nation acts as independently in Ecclesiasticals as in Civils, and is as much a distinct Com-

Community with relation to one as to the Chap. 10  
 other. Nor in reality was the Church  
 ever one Body Politick, by virtue of any  
 Assembly of Bishops; because the greatest  
 number of 'em that ever met in a Council,  
 were only a few in comparison of the rest:  
 For in the Primitive Times a Bishoprick,  
 and what we now call a Parish, were the  
 same thing; a Bishop had only one Altar  
 or Church belonging to him, so that he  
 cou'd daily inspect all under his Care. And  
 even after that time their Diocesses were  
 small: For in that Part of *Africa* which  
 belong'd to the Christians, *St. Austin* rec- Tom. 7.  
 kons nine hundred Bishops; and *Baronius* de Gestis  
 says, that as low down as 1145. there cum Emé-  
 were a thousand in *Armenia*; and yet at ric.  
 the General Council of *Nice* there were a-  
 bout three hundred, and at that of *Constan-*  
*tinople* not above half the number. 'Tis  
 true, at the Council of *Ariminum* the num-  
 ber of Bishops was double to that of *Nice*;  
 but nothing can be prov'd from thence  
 (since that will not be allow'd to be a Ge-  
 neral Council) except that the greater the  
 Number, the likelier they are to be in the  
 wrong.

7. Besides, these Councils did not act by  
 an Independent Power, but were call'd,  
 prorogu'd, and dissolv'd at the Pleasure  
 of the Emperors, who assembl'd 'em by  
 the same Right as they did any of their  
 other Subjects, to advise with; and as  
 they thought fit, pass'd or not pass'd their  
 Resolves, I mean such as were the Subject  
 of Human Power, into Laws, no ways obli-



obligatory on any Christians beyond the Bounds of the Empire. And this Right all other Magistrates have in their Dominions. And indeed General Councils are so far from being the Church-Representative, that whatever they determine can have no Virtue, except the Supreme Powers give it the Force of Laws: and where these enact any thing contrary to the Sentiments of such Councils, they who compose those Councils, as well as all others, are bound by it. And indeed all Human Laws whatever, as has been prov'd in the Introduction, must be resolv'd into the Will of the present Legislators, whose presum'd Will it is, that all Laws enacted by their Predecessors shall be valid, till they declare otherwise; and if it were not so, 'twou'd be impossible for 'em to repeal any Laws formerly made. Nay, even God's Laws do not depend upon his having enacted 'em in former Times, but because it's the Will of the Ever-living Being that they shall bind at present. This shews how absurd 'tis to have recourse to the Power and Authority of former Councils, or any other Assemblies of Ecclesiasticks.

In a word, if the Bishops are not Supreme, each in his own District, nor so united, as to compose only one Government for the whole Catholick Church; there remains no other way to make the Church only one Body Politick, or its Government of Divine Appointment, than by supposing some one of the Apostles,

files, and his Successors after him, to preside over the whole Church, as Universal Bishop; and the rest to act as his Deputies, and by his Authority, and be deprivable at his Pleasure, to whom is the last Appeal, and in whose Determinations all must acquiesce. No Power less than this can make the Acts of any Clergyman, whether of Ordination, Excommunication, &c. valid thro the whole Church; since that can only be done by virtue of an Authority which extends so far, and is the Fountain, Foundation and Center of Catholick Union and Communion.

8. Indeed when Men do not think it sufficient for Salvation to be united to Christ by true Faith, and to one another by Christian Love, leaving every Community to form what Ecclesiastical Government they think fit; but make it necessary to the very Being of Christianity to be united by some one external Head or Government, as the Center of Catholick Union and Communion; I cannot see how a Popedom is avoidable, which must have Authority to judg of the Differences between Provincial and National Churches that are equal among themselves, thereby to promote the Communion of Saints, and to hinder the Body of Christ from being divided. And there can be no Argument fram'd from a Power in a National Church to judg of Schisms, Heresys, &c. which will not equally hold for the Catholick Church. And nothing can be pleaded for

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the Necessity of uniting so many Congregations as make up a Diocese under a Bishop, and so many Dioceses as make up a Province under an Arch-Bishop, which will not as strongly hold for all the Provinces being united under the Pope.

9. Who is there that claims this Power except the Bishop of *Rome* as deriving it from *St. Peter*; to whose Successors had not this descended, must it not upon the death of the rest of the Apostles have fallen to *St. John*, and after him to his Successors? But we do not find the Successors of any Apostles besides *St. Peter* pretend to this Power.

In a word, there are several other Arguments, which upon this common Hypothesis of the Clergy make for the Necessity of a Spiritual Monarch in the Church; as for instance.

10. If we deny a Nation, upon their Conversion to Christianity, sufficient Power to make their Church Governors, we must admit of some Universal Bishop, to whom Nations, as they turn Christians, become subject, and to whom it belongs to invest some, as his Deputies, with a Right to exercise Ecclesiastical Power over 'em; which he cou'd not bestow on others, were it not first in himself. And this Power cannot at the same time belong to more than one; and consequently, there's a Necessity, if you reject the *People*, to have recourse to a *Pope*.



All that can be said in answer to this is, Chap. 10  
 that either he who converts a Nation has a Right to govern 'em, or else, that they may chuse their own Ecclesiastical Governors, provided they are such as have Episcopal Ordination.

As to the first, persuading People to frame themselves into a Church, gives one no more Right to govern 'em in Ecclesiasticals, than reasoning 'em into a Commonwealth does in Civils. Besides, if the Converter be no Bishop, there's no Pretence for this Supposition, unless it subjects 'em to the See from whence he came, which wou'd place all Christians under that of *Jerusalem*.

If the People may chuse whom they think fit to govern 'em, provided they have Hands laid upon 'em by Bishops; it shows 'tis their Choice alone which gives 'em this Power; and that what the Bishops do is at the most only qualifying 'em to receive it: As in a parallel Case, if none be capable of Regal Power who is not anointed by a Bishop, such an Unction wou'd only put him in a Condition to be a King; but the Power wou'd be actually deriv'd from those who chuse him, and so wou'd the Right the Bishop had to perform the Anointing Ceremony, since they might appoint what Bishop they pleas'd, and he whom they appoint, wou'd act only ministerially, being oblig'd to anoint whom they chuse. And 'tis notorious that with us (and so it was every where formerly, as I shall prove hereafter)

25 H. 8. the Bishops act ministerially, being under no less Penalty than a *Premunire* oblig'd to confirm and consecrate the Person nam'd in the *Conge d' Elire*.

11. This Argument holds not only to a Nation which is to settle their Ecclesiastical Government, but to any which designs to change their old Form for that of Episcopacy. In this case, as they may chuse what Bishops they please, so all the Power these have over 'em is deriv'd from their Choice; none having any till then, and then 'tis their Choice alone which prefers them before others.

12. To carry this further, none can have a Right to dispose of the Ecclesiastical Power of a deceas'd Bishop, except he or they to whom upon his Death it devolves; and that must devolve, if to those of the Episcopal Order, either to all, or to a determinate Number, or to a single Bishop. If to the first, the Consent of all, or at least of a Majority (in which the rest are included) is necessary to dispose of what devolves to all: and this is the same, if it devolves to any set Number. But as neither can be pretended, so either wou'd prove that there's now no such thing as a Bishop, because there's none who derives his Power from all, or any set Number of Bishops. But if it devolves to neither of these, there remains no other than a single Bishop to have the sole Right of constituting Bishops for the Catholick Church, and assigning to every one of 'em the

the Limits of their Districts, and of aug- Chap. 10  
menting or decreasing their Number, as the  
Good of the Church requires. And then in  
what a Condition are all those Churches  
which have no recourse to this Universal  
Bishop or Pope?

13. There's no Scheme which can give  
the Protestants any Bishops, without sup-  
posing the Power of a deceas'd Bishop de-  
volves to the People, to be dispos'd of by  
them, or by an Authority deriv'd from  
them.

For it cannot be pretended, supposing  
the Power a Bishop had over his District  
was owing to the Bishops laying Hands  
on or consecrating him, that the Bishops  
act in their own Right, or by a Power in-  
herent in themselves dispose of the Power  
of the deceas'd Bishop, as upon his Death  
devolving to them; because then only they  
to whom it devolves, whether they are all  
the Bishops of the Catholick Church, or a  
set Number, or some one Bishop, cou'd dis-  
pose of it again: which wou'd be inconsi-  
stent with the Magistrate's authorizing any  
two or three Bishops, or even any single Bi-  
shop, exclusively of all the rest, to lay Hands  
upon him; and consequently the Power  
which in this case is suppos'd to be con-  
fer'd on him, is deriv'd from the Magi-  
strate, who commissions which of 'em he  
pleases, to give one a Jurisdiction in a  
District where they had none themselves:  
and 'tis he who impowers them to do  
more for other Bishops than they can for  
themselves, since they cannot appoint  
Cc 3 their



their own Successors. As no Bishop by his own Authority can give another Power out of his own District, out of which he has none himself; so none can give one a Jurisdiction greater than his own, not only over his own Diocess, but over the whole Province and all the Bishops of it, as Primates, Metropolitans, and Patriarchs have.

14. With us (and 'tis the same in other Protestant Countrys which have Bishops) nothing can be plainer than that the Bishops act only ministerially, and by virtue of the Regal Commission, by which the Prince firmly *enjoins and commands 'em, on the Fidelity by which they are bound to him, to proceed according to the Form of the Statutes in Chusing, Confirming, and Consecrating*: strange Words for one who is suppos'd to be a Subject to them in this Spiritual Matter, but more strange that the disobeying him in not chusing, confirming, and consecrating the Man he appoints, is under no less Penalty than a *Premunire*, a greater Punishment than the Civil Ministers suffer for not obeying the Royal Mandate. And the Bishops have so religiously in this matter observ'd their Princes Commands, that there's no Instance of their scrupling to comply with the King's Writ, ever since the Parliament invested the King with all manner of Spiritual Power, which from him as the Fountain is deriv'd to the Bishops and other Ecclesiastical Persons. But had the Bishops an Independent Power to make Bishops, every one sees

sees the Magistrate cou'd have no more Right Chap. 10  
to name the Bishops, than they had to name  
the Judges or other Civil Officers: nay,  
they might as well pretend to appoint the  
Persons who are to succeed in the Civil,  
as the Magistrate those who are to succeed  
in the Spiritual Empire. All that is said  
in answer to this is, that we must obey  
the Supreme Powers in all lawful things;  
which supposes it lawful for them to com-  
mand in these matters, and consequently  
that the Bishops (since there cannot be two  
commanding Powers about the same things)  
act only as their Ministers in obeying their  
Commands, when they consecrate the Bi-  
shops of their appointing.

15. What's here said, tho a great deal  
more might be added, is, I think, suffi-  
cient to satisfy an impartial Reader, that  
the Clergy who assert it necessary to the  
Being of the Church of *England* that the  
Bishops shou'd derive an Independent  
Power from the Papists, in the way of  
Succession from the Apostles, instead of  
defending, expose and betray the Church  
to the Papists; who can't desire a better  
Hypothesis with relation to her Govern-  
ment, to confound her from one end to  
t'other, and to re-establish the Papal Su-  
premacy.

16. 'Tis not in this alone, but in other  
Points, even the most absurd, that some  
Protestant Divines assert such Maxims as  
too much countenance Popery: of which  
to mention a few will not be foren to our  
purpose; as,

First, How can they condemn the Papists for denying the Magistrate a Power over the Lives of the Clergy, when they assert that the Right they have to their Ecclesiastical Offices is not subject to him upon any account whatever, as being deriv'd from an Authority Independent of and Superior to all Human Power? Since in Deprivation of Life is included a Deprivation of all Offices whatever, can one who has no Right to put a Man to death, have a Right to hinder him from breathing; and is that more necessary for Life than Life is for an Office?

17. Secondly, There's nothing our Clergy more rhetorically exclaim against, than the Uncharitableness of the Papists in confining Salvation to their own Church; and yet do they not the same in applying Schism, which they affirm is a damnable Sin, to all who refuse to communicate with their Church? A greater Uncharitableness than that of the Papists, because their Difference with Protestants is much greater and wider than that between Protestant and Protestant. 'Tis no doubt intolerable Impudence in the Papists to appropriate to themselves the Name of Catholick Church; and yet I do not see how those Churches can censure them, which as well as the Papists exclude from the Catholick Church, either as Schismatics or Hereticks, all who will not join in Communion with them.

18. Thirdly, Tho nothing can be more wicked than the Popish Doctrine of not keep-  
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ing Faith with Hereticks, yet if the Law Chap. 10  
of God, as too many of the Clergy of all  
fides affirm, obliges the Magistrate to  
punish them, he is, notwithstanding any  
Promises, Vows or Oaths to the contrary,  
under a prior and an indispensable Obliga-  
tion to God to prosecute 'em. And if  
Heresy makes Men forfeit their *Right* to  
Property, Liberty, and even Life, why  
not their Right to Truth, especially when  
telling Lyes may be any ways advantageous  
to Orthodoxy? And when Men once  
think that Sincerity and Impartiality are  
not sufficient, but that the Belief of such  
or such Doctrines are necessary to Sal-  
vation, will they not be tempted to use  
Falshood and Deceit, whenever they ima-  
gine these proper or effectual for the pro-  
pagating or promoting those Doctrines?  
For if they think it lawful to deceive Chil-  
dren, melancholy and sick Persons, &c.  
for the sake of their bodily Health, or tem-  
poral Advantage; may they not be apt to  
conclude that the obtaining infinitely great-  
er Benefits for mens Souls will justify the  
same Method? And the best we can sup-  
pose of the Ecclesiasticks is, that all the  
holy Cheats, pious Frauds, and godly For-  
gerys which from time to time they have  
been guilty of, were owing to this Princi-  
ple. One of Mr. Chillingworth's Reasons  
for going over to the Romanists was,  
because, as he says, *The Protestant Cause is* Preface to  
*now, and hath been from the beginning main-* Religion  
*tain'd with gross Falsifications and Calumnys,* of Prote-  
*whereof the Prime Controversy-Writers are no-* stants.  
toriously

Com. in  
Ezek. 34.

toriously and in a high degree guilty. And upon his return he does not disown this, but only says, *Iliacos intra muros peccatur & extra*, the Papists are more guilty of this Fault than Protestants. It were to be wish'd that antient Writers were not criminal in this Point as well as modern; and that St. Jerom had no reason for saying, *Ecclesiastici Viri non Dogmatum custodiunt Veritatem, sed de corde suo confingunt, Magistrumque habent presumptionem suam*; or for what he affirms of all the Fathers in general down to his own Time, that in managing Controversys they did not speak as they thought, but as it made for their purpose; *Non dicunt, says he, quod sentiunt, sed quod necesse est*. And this is one Reason, among many others, why the Judicious Daille supposes the Authority of the Fathers is so little to be rely'd on.

19. Fourthly, If the restraining of Heresy by Civil Penaltys be, as too many of the Clergy assert, necessary for preserving the Peace, Purity, and Unity of the Church, they can't deny its Governors a Right to depose those Princes who protect Heresy; unless they say that the Church wants what's necessary for its own Support, which they are so far from owning, that they do not only suppose the Church the most compleat Body Politick, as being Divinely form'd, but say that the Temporal Empire must give place to the Spiritual, the State to the Church, the Good of which they esteem the Supreme Law. And

And they who suppose that People by Heresy forfeit their Property, can't well deny that Princes do their Government, which was ordain'd only for their sake; and consequently it can't be more sacred or less forfeitable. Chap. 10

20. Fifthly, If the Priests have, as many of 'em claim, more than a Declarative Power (between which and a Judicial there's no Medium) of Binding and Loosing, they ought not to use so great a Trust blindly, but make Men, before they absolve 'em, confess all the Particulars and Circumstances of their Sins, since these so much alleviate or aggravate the Guilt, And,

21. Sixthly, If the Clergy can judicially bind or loose Mens Sins to all Eternity; why may they not have so small a Branch of this Power, as to free Men by their Prayers from Punishment in a State (call it Purgatory or what you will) where they can remain only for a time, till the Resurrection? At least they who claim an infinitely greater Power, can't with any good Grace condemn the Popish Clergy for being guilty of an abominable piece of Priestcraft, in pretending to the lesser.

22. Seventhly, Why may not the Popish Clergy consecrate Water, Beads, Candles, &c. as well as Protestants do Timber, Stone, Lime, and other Materials of Churches? For they are not satisfy'd with allowing these Places a mere relative Holiness on the account of People's meeting in 'em to worship God, because that's the same if they



they met in Places unconsecrated; and as 'tis wholly owing to their Meeting, so no Place can have any longer a Right to it when that's discontinu'd. But the Ecclesiasticks contend that they infuse a sort of they know not what peculiar Sanctity into the very Materials of the Churches, which is so inherent in 'em, that 'tis profane to put 'em to any Secular, when they cease to be imploy'd for a Religious Use. And why may not the Papists as well pretend to infuse the like inconceivable Holiness into the Trinkets they bless? The Priests even in the Primitive Times found out a notable Pretence for their Consecration, or rather Conjunction, that the Devil was in all things unconsecrated by them; and therefore 'twas not lawful, for instance, to use any unconsecrated Water in Baptism, till they had exorcis'd the Devil out of it. But then from this General Rule they excepted certain Pieces of old Wood, rusty Iron, rotten Bones, and such-like Relicks; which they maintain'd were so far from having any Devil in 'em, that they had Virtue enough to drive away ten thousand evil Spirits, and do a prodigious Number of other miraculous Feats.

This strange unconceivable Virtue and Holiness, which is suppos'd to be in inanimate things upon Consecration, has been the occasion of infinite Superstitions, and has introduc'd into the Gentile World the Worship of Images, which 'twas impossible the People shou'd be so absurd as to imagine real Deitys; but they only thought,

thought, as the Fathers themselves own, Chap. 10 that the Priests by their Consecration infus'd into 'em a certain Divine Holiness, and made their Gods to inhabit there, as some say God now does in Churches, after an inconceivable manner; and therefore they pay as profound a Respect to their Images, as some do to a consecrated Table plac'd Eastward. Which Notions the Heathen Clergy propagated to create a greater Veneration to themselves; and how well they have been copy'd by some Christian Priests, the Reader, I suppose, wants not to be inform'd. Therefore I shall only add, that 'tis to these Notions that most of the absurd Doctrines relating to the Lord's Supper are in a great measure owing: For when Men began to believe that Sacramental was not only distinguish'd from Common Bread, by the Holy Use the Receivers apply'd it to, but that the Consecration of the Priest made a great difference between them, tho they knew not where to fix it, they never left running from one Absurdity to another, till at last they suppos'd it had such powerful Charms as to cause a Change in the Substance.

23. Eighthly, If Reason is to be silent, why must we reject Transubstantiation, so agreeable to Christ's Expression, *This is my Body*? But if her Voice is to be heard, how can the Real Presence stand its ground? And yet is not that the Belief of all Protestants, except a few, call'd in derision *Sacramentarians* or *Zuinglians*? What can be more expressive of it, than saying

Answer to  
Melitiere  
the Jesuit,  
p. 15.

Kenn's  
Catechism.

the Body and Blood of Christ are *verily* and *indeed*, and consequently not *figuratively* and *not indeed* taken or receiv'd? And accordingly Archbishop Bramhal affirms, *That no genuine Son of the Church of England did ever deny the True Real Presence. But whether it be Con, Sub, Trans, or In, we place among the Opinions of the Schools, and not among the Articles of Faith.* If so, the Difference between the two Churches can only be about the Manner, both agreeing in the Thing: and if one is positive in determining the *Modus*, is not the other as positive in denying their *Modus*? And if they are not for Consubstantiation, they must be for Transubstantiation, since there's no Medium between 'em: for the Body, if really present, must be either present with the Elements, or else these must be converted into it. What Hopes can such a one as Dr. Kenn have of confounding Transubstantiation, when he has recourse to Omnipotence to maintain the Absurditys of a Real Presence? And it adds to, rather than takes from the Difficulty, to say the Body is there not bodily, or after the manner of a Body; but spiritually, or after the manner of a Spirit. And how can one believe he eats the Body after a Spiritual or Heavenly manner, tho he cou'd frame an Idea of such a sort of eating, when he knows he eats only mere Bread, and not the Body, which is so far from being really present, as Earth is from Heaven?

24. Ninthly, How can those Churchmen condemn the Papists for laying so great



a stress on Tradition, or say, according to the sixth Article, that that which can't be prov'd from Scripture is not requisite to Salvation, who affirm that Bishops, as a distinct Order from Presbyters, are necessary to the very Being of a Christian Church? But if they have so great a Deference for Tradition, why have they not for Prayers for the Dead, since nothing can be plainer from the antient Liturgys, and Testimonys of the Fathers of the second and third Centurys, that that was the general Practice of the Church. And is not *Aerius* condemn'd as a Heretick for opposing it? Nay, have we not Fathers, whose Authority is look'd on as Sacred in other matters, even for Prayers to the Dead? To which let me add, that

25. If the thousandth part of the Miracles were true, which the Fathers of the greatest Name and Authority, as *Jerom*, *Basil*, *Austin*, &c. affirm with the greatest Assurance, and some of 'em of their own Knowledg, to be done by Relicks; the Veneration which the Church of *Rome* pays to 'em can't justly be blam'd. But,

26. Tho the Popish Doctrines were ever so absurd, and the Protestant Clergy taught nothing in particular which kept 'em in countenance, yet too many of 'em maintain such Maxims, in order to oblige People to yield an implicit Faith and blind Deference to their Dictates, as must condemn all Separation from the Church of *Rome* on the account of her peculiar Doctrines;

trines; in some of which I shall beg leave to instance, and which may serve for a Recapitulation.

(1.) Government necessarily supposes a Right of judging and determining all Matters within its Sphere: and consequently, if the Clergy are Governors of the Church, they must determine all Controversys relating to Ecclesiastical Matters; and if they have this Government from God, as he alone gave it 'em, so he alone cou'd deprive 'em of it: and consequently, for their Subjects in Spirituals to disown, on pretence of judging for themselves, the Government under which God has plac'd 'em, is a Crime next to disowning God's own Government. Nay,

(2.) If the Clergy had no other Power than that of admitting Men into, and turning 'em out of the Church, which supposes 'em Judges of the Terms of Admission; the Laity, as they valu'd being Members of the Church, were oblig'd to own those Terms.

(3.) There's no Medium between being govern'd by one's own Reason, and by the Authority of others: for if God requir'd the first, they who did this, how much soever they differ'd in Judgment with one another, wou'd be equally acceptable to him, as having alike done all he requires of 'em to discover his Will. But this is oppos'd by the Clergy of all Denominations, who suppose their Interpretations of, and Inferences from certain Texts to be Fundamentals; and condemn all other Christians

Christians who presume to follow their own Judgment in interpreting Scripture, either as Schismatics or Hereticks, for differing from 'em in the Meaning of those Texts. Nay,

(4.) They affirm, that the Liberty of private Judgment wou'd destroy the Peace and Unity of the Church, by causing in a manner as many Religions as Persons: for the preventing of which private Persons ought to submit to the Determinations of their Spiritual Governors in Religious, as to their Civil in Secular Matters; and that the Church-Governors, considering the many Spiritual Privileges they enjoy above the Laity, and the Promise of God to be with them to the End of the World, must be suppos'd as well qualify'd to judg in Religious, as others are in Civil Matters; and that it favours of Pride and Presumption to set up a private Judgment in opposition to the Church, *the Ground and Pillar of Truth*, which whosoever neglects to hear is no better than a Heathen or Publican.

(5.) If God requires the Belief of those things, which the Bulk of Mankind, for want of Ability, Leisure or Learning, are not able to judg of, as 'tis plain there are such in all Churches; some must be appointed to judg of these things for them. And,

(6.) The constant and universal Practice of the Church, the best Interpreter of her Right, has, 'tis said, put this Power of the Clergy out of dispute; since Councils

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and



and Synods have all along taken upon 'em to judg for the People, by framing their Deductions from and Interpretations of Scripture, into Creeds, Articles and Canons; and have oblig'd all under Spiritual Censures to submit to 'em. Nay,

(7.) Have they not inserted this Power of theirs in an Article of the Creed, commonly call'd the Apostles, viz. *I believe the Catholick Church*? For how can any pretend to believe the Catholick Church, who relies not on her Authority, in taking that for Truth which she declares to be so, but tryes every Doctrine by the Touchstone of his own private Reason? As 'tis talking in a Circle to say such Doctrines are true because the Catholick Church holds 'em, and this is the Catholick Church because it holds these Doctrines; so 'tis no less than a Contradiction to say, I believe the Catholick Church, and yet at the same time affirm, I am bound to judg of her Doctrines, and take and reject as 'tis most agreeable to my private Judgment. And if there were not such a Church always in being, to be distinguish'd by such Notes and Marks as all might know her, in order to believe as she believes; this Article wou'd be as impertinent as one's believing some body or other had a certain Remedy for his Distemper, without knowing the Person, or having any Marks to distinguish him from a great many others, who with equal Assurance pretended to the same Receipt, tho they only administer'd deadly Poison.

If these and such-like Maxims are true, then our Forefathers Separation from the Church of *Rome*, upon pretence of private Judgment, must be unlawful, and so must our continuing in a Separation thus unlawfully begun.

27. Besides, how can the Protestants pretend to be a Part of the Apostolick Catholick Church, if That, as the Clergy on all sides hold, has had from its first Beginning a continu'd perpetual Existence; since their Churches are but of yesterday, as owing their Being to their Separation from *Rome*? Nor will the usual Answer, that they only reform'd that Part of the Catholick Church they were Members of before, serve their turn: for if the Church of *Rome* was Part of the Catholick Church, as this Answer supposes, those who separated from that Church can lay no claim to it; since the Catholick Church, as both Partys agree, is not large enough to hold two opposite Communions. And this the Protestant, as well as Popish Clergy, take to be so unquestionable a Truth, that all their Notions relating to Schismatical Churches are founded upon it. To which may be added,

28. That if no True Church can be without an Independent Power belonging to their Ecclesiasticks, the Church of *England*, as 'tis plain from the Laws which establish her, does not claim any such Power: and as little can she pretend (as may be perceiv'd by what has been already said) another suppos'd Essential of a Church, an uninterrupted Succession.

29. Without some Visible Head or Universal Bishop, the Church cou'd not be so united within it self, as all Partys agree it is: for if the Bishops had each the same Power from God, they must be equal to and independent of one another; and consequently, each wou'd be unaccountable to all the rest, who by their Decrees cou'd not oblige him or his District in which he was Independent. Nor cou'd any Agreement among the Bishops, if every one did consent, alter this Form of Government which God had settl'd for his Church, either by placing the Power in an Ecclesiastical Senate of all the Bishops of the Christian World, or by dividing the Church into several Independent National Bodys. And without a Common Head, to whom the Power of the Bishops as they die devolves, 'tis impossible there shou'd be a Succession of Bishops: since no one can bestow Episcopal Power, where he has none himself; nor cou'd any besides such a Head, to whom Men upon their Conversion become subject, add to the number of Bishops, and by assigning to each the Limits of his Power divide a newly converted Country between them. And without such a Head no Acts of any Bishop, relating to Excommunication, Ordination, &c. cou'd be valid further than his own District; to extend 'em to the whole Church can only be done by an Authority which reaches so far. Nor without such a Head cou'd any Differences between Churches independent of one another



ther be compos'd. And the Clergy can't Chap. 10  
urge any Argument for an Authority to  
decide Differences between Members of the  
same District, which will not hold much  
stronger for an Authority, which for this  
reason is to extend to all the Districts of  
the Christian World. Thus it is that the  
common-receiv'd Notions, favour a Papal  
Supremacy, nay make it necessary for the  
Center of Catholick Union and Commu-  
nion.

30. That which gave the Papists so  
great Advantage, was Clergymens talking  
(I mean in some former Reigns) so very  
inconsistent with themselves, not only  
when they endeavour'd to reconcile the  
Regal Supremacy with what themselves  
claim'd by Divine Right, but when they  
disputed with Papists and Dissenters; using  
the very same Arguments against the lat-  
ter, which they were under a necessity of  
condemning in the former. Nor wou'd  
they allow those who separated from 'em  
the same Plea which themselves us'd to  
justify their Separation from the Papists,  
but talk'd like 'em when they had to  
do with Dissenters, and like Dissenters  
when they had to do with Papists: for  
then they affirm'd that no Man was ob-  
lig'd to submit to the Doctrine or Disci-  
pline of any or all the Churches in the  
World, if he judg'd it not agreeable to  
the Word of God; and commended the  
brave *Luther*, as acting nobly and heroical-  
ly in separating, tho by himself, upon  
this Principle from all the Churches then

in being. But when they argu'd with the Dissenters, and at all other times, they talk'd diametrically opposite to this, and carry'd the Power and Authority of the Church as high as the Papists themselves; as may be seen not only in Bishop Sparrow's Preface to *Collections of Articles*, &c. mention'd in my Preface, but in the rest of the Writers of those Times. And their Practice made their Principles too evident, since they were not only for hindring Men by a Restraint of the Press from seeing any Arguments which made against their Determinations, but for forcing 'em by Ecclesiastical and Civil Penaltys to comply, tho ever so much against their Consciences. And what did the Papists, or can they do more for the sake of a blind Obedience and an implicit Belief? And did not the Penal Laws extend to Property, Liberty, and Life?

Chap. 6.  
n. 56.

31. If the Essence of Protestantism consists, as Mr. *Chillingworth* maintains, in this single Article, *That God does not, and therefore Men ought not to require any more of a Man, than to believe the Scripture to be the Word of God, and to endeavour to find out the true Sense of it*; no Protestant Clergy can claim Authority in Matters of Faith, or take upon 'em judicially to censure Opinions, or to frame their Inferences from Scripture into Articles, &c. or endeavour to exclude all from Church-Preferments who will not assent and consent to them; or to put the Laity under an Incapacity for Places of Trust and Profit, or under any other Hardship,

ship, for doing their Duty in acting ac- Chap. 10  
 cording to this Protestant Principle, to  
 which all such things as tend to prejudice  
 Men in judging of the Sense of the Word of  
 God, are directly opposite.

32. The Difference between Mr. *Chilling-*  
*worth* and those who writ sometime before  
 him against the Papists, is, that they had  
 carry'd their Notion of Church-Authority  
 so high as to make the Separation from  
*Rome* unjustifiable: but tho he effectually  
 justifies it, yet 'tis by destroying all  
 Church-Authority. What can be more  
 opposite to it than his saying, " That Chap. 4.  
 " this presumptuous imposing of the Sen- n. 16.  
 " ses of Men upon the Words of God;  
 " the Special Senses of Men upon the Ge-  
 " neral Words of God, and laying 'em  
 " upon mens Consciences together, under  
 " the equal Penalty of Death and Damna-  
 " tion; this vain Conceit, that we can  
 " speak of the Things of God better than  
 " the Words of God; this Deifying our  
 " own Interpretations, and tyrannous en-  
 " forcing 'em on others; this restraining  
 " the Word of God from that Latitude  
 " and Generality, and the Understanding  
 " of Men from that Liberty wherein  
 " Christ and his Apostles left 'em, is and  
 " hath been the only Fountain of all the  
 " Schisms of the Church, and that which  
 " makes 'em immortal, the common In-  
 " cendiary of *Christendom*, and that which  
 " tears in pieces not the Coat, but the  
 " Bowels and Members of Christ, *Ridentur*  
 " *Turca, nec dolente Judaeo?* Take away  
 " these



“ these Walls of Separation, and all will  
 “ quickly be One: Take away this Per-  
 “ secuting, Burning, Cursing, Damning  
 “ of Men for not subscribing to the Words  
 “ of Men as the Words of God: Re-  
 “ quire of Christians only to believe  
 “ Christ, and to call no man Master but  
 “ Him only: Let those leave claiming In-  
 “ fallibility who have no Title to it; and  
 “ let them that in their Words disclaim it,  
 “ disclaim it likewise in their Actions: In  
 “ a word, take away Tyranny, which is  
 “ the Devil’s Instrument to support Errors,  
 “ and Separations, and Impietys — and  
 “ Universal Liberty thus moderated, may  
 “ quickly reduce *Christendom* to Truth and  
 “ Unity. And after this manner does he  
 write in at least twenty places of his  
 Book: and these are the Sentiments of  
 honest Mr. *Hales* in his *Traкт of Schism*,  
 where in express Terms he declares there’s  
 no such thing as Church-Authority. But to  
 return.

33. Tho High-Church in the Reigns of  
 Persecution labour’d to shew a great dif-  
 ference between their Conduct and that of  
 the Papists; yet upon their common Princi-  
 ples they cou’d show none which was not to  
 their Disadvantage.

For the Papists said, that to avoid Er-  
 ror and Confusion, the Guides of the  
 Church were so influenc’d by the Holy  
 Spirit, as not to determine any thing con-  
 trary to Truth; and that the People might  
 rely on ’em without danger of having false  
 Doctrines impos’d upon ’em, or Scripture so  
 inter-

interpreted as to make it inconsistent with Chap. 10  
it self.

High-Church, tho they cou'd not deny they were liable to Mistakes, yet they equally assum'd the Power of judging for the People, and generally talk'd as if the Fault of the Papists was not barely doing this, but doing it on pretence of Infallibility; and took it for granted they might act like 'em, as long as they were so modest as to disown the only thing which cou'd be pretended for a Justification of such Actings.

34. Such a Power as this among Protestants, considering how widely they differ with one another, wou'd oblige a Man to change his Sentiments with his Habitation, and the Difference of a Degree or two in the Climate wou'd make him profess contrary Opinions: which is avoided among the Papists, who allow this Power not to every National, but to the Catholic Church alone; which interposes her Authority only in things of the greatest moment to her Interest, but in others, tho the Differences among 'em are very numerous, it leaves every one to their Liberty, excluding none from any Civil or even Ecclesiastical Preferment on the account of those Differences: while some who pretend to oppose her, think they can't make the Terms of Communion too narrow, and are for prejudicing the Publick, by excluding all from serving in any Post, who can't comply with these narrow Terms.

35. The

91.911. 1037. The main Difference between these Churchmen and those of *Rome* was, that the first were, as they said, for allowing the People a general Liberty of reading the Scripture, while the last wou'd not grant it promiscuously. But if the Presb, as both Sides then agreed, was to be restrain'd, lest the People might apprehend the Scripture in such a Sense as their Spiritual Guides judg'd to be false; it can't be deny'd that the Popish Clergy acted most charitably in not trusting the Generality of the People with the Scripture it self, but only with their Sense of it, as 'tis express'd in their Catechisms, Confessions of Faith, Books of Devotion, &c. where there's no danger of their taking it in a Sense contrary to that of their Church. And therefore on this common Principle Archbishop Bramhal had reason to affirm, *Vindic. of himself and the Episcopal Clergy,* " that the promiscuous Licence which they (the Protestants) give to all forts to read and interpret Scripture is more prejudicial, nay pernicious, than the over-rigorous Restraint of the *Romanists*. And they who think thus, must, as soon as conveniently they can, restrain this promiscuous Licence of reading the Scripture. B. 117.

36. Thus it was that some Men betray'd the Reformation, and tempted People to believe that they had a bad Cause indeed to manage, when they suppos'd it necessary, for the Preservation of their own Church, to act quite contrary to that Principle to which it ow'd its very Being; and that their exclaiming against the Church



Church of *Rome* for doing (tho consistent Chap. 10  
with her own Principles) the very same things they practis'd themselves, requir'd, to say no worse, a very good Stock of Assurance. 'Twas this Conduct of theirs which occasion'd that Remark of their be-  
loved *Charles II.* when in comparing the two Churches, he said, *one seem'd to be in earnest, and t'other in jest*: which was not so severe as what a Reverend Divine exprest on this occasion; "The *English* Priestcraft  
" is the coarsest that ever I saw; the *Romish*  
" is fine, and has made a delicate Book of  
" *Father Paul's Trent History*; theirs is the  
" *Depths* of Satan, and ours is his *Shallows*. But this can't reflect on the present Church, since the Penal Laws, and the Restraint of the Press, the Badges of Popery, are taken away. And,

Whosoever desires 'em again, or pretends the Protestant Church of *England* is in danger for want of 'em, must either be a Papist in his Heart, since the Domination of the Clergy, and the blind Submission of the Laity, is Popery in any Church whatever; or else an Atheist, and believes his Religion a mere State-Trick, which will not bear Examination, tho there are so many thousand Learned Men listed in its Defence. Nor,

37. Can Protestants, who are for putting Hardships on People, even on the account of Ceremonys or Modes of Discipline, which they call preserving the National Church, condemn the Papists for endeavouring to preserve the Catholick Church after  
the

the same manner. And if Schism be a damning Sin, and all are guilty of it who are not of the Church establish'd by Law, Charity to the Souls of People, in preventing their eternal Ruin by the spreading of Schism, will require the utmost degree of Force. So that till this Protestant Principle be thorowly settl'd, that 'tis not lawful for a State to make any distinction between its Subjects on a Church-account, 'tis impossible to find any Principles on which to attack the Papists for their worst part of Popery, their Persecutions, which they may not with Advantage retort.

38. If what I have been now saying be a Digression, I hope 'tis not a very unreasonable one, since it gives People a Caution to avoid such Opinions, tho ever so confidently asserted by their Priests, as have so direct a Tendency to Popery. Nay, how can we be assur'd that those Men, who talk backward and forward for their Interest, will not be consistent with themselves, if that wou'd as well serve their turn; much more if that wou'd wonderfully advance their Power, as Popery must when it becomes the National Religion? And tho they might formerly have hop'd, by the help of the Penal Laws and the Restraint of the Press (especially when the High Commission Court, Star-Chamber, &c. were in being) of themselves to have got as great a Power over the People as the Popish Clergy by such-like means have obtain'd; yet since the present Liberty has so intirely defeated

any

any such Design, they must despair of effecting that now by any other way than downright Popery. And what Principles have these Men to hinder 'em from declaring for it, whenever they can do it without any hazard to themselves; and in the mean time from acting so as may best serve to promote the Interest of those Powers which are for bringing it in, and to weaken the Administration of those who oppose it? Will their old Notions of the Divine Right of Kings, and the Unlawfulness of putting by the next Heir of the Crown, hinder 'em from acting thus? And what can more effectually cover their Designs, as well as give 'em hopes of succeeding, than to make the World believe the Danger of the Church is from another Quarter; and that to preserve it, their Tools and Instruments are only to be employ'd? Whether this be so or no, 'tis the Interest of the Laity, who must lose as much by Popery as these Clergymen will gain, not to be impos'd on by specious Pretences, but to judg of Mens Intentions by the whole Course of their Actions.

Since this Discourse grows too bulky for one Volume, I shall finish the rest in the next; where, if the Author may be allow'd to be a competent Judg, the Reader will find a full Answer to all the Arguments drawn from Scripture as well as Reason, for the Independent Power of the Clergy.

39. Now I shall conclude with a Word or two in behalf of the Author, who hopes



hopes that no Person, consider'd either as a Man, can blame him for defending the Natural Rights of Mankind, or as a Christian, for striking at the Root of Antichristian Priestcraft. And he can't apprehend but that every real Protestant must approve his Attempt of maintaining, in their full Latitude, those almost forgotten Principles on which the Reformation was built, and which render Popery, that has nothing to support it except the absurd Notions of High-Church, naked and defenceless; and of destroying those unnatural Heats and Feuds which Difference in Discipline creates among the Reform'd, and thereby prevents their hearty Union against the common Enemy. And he hopes all of the National Church will approve this Design, since only the Principles he goes on can justify its Constitution, with relation to the Dependency of the Clergy. Nor can those who differ from him, have any just reason to be dissatisfy'd for his giving 'em an opportunity to expose and baffle all the contrary Arguments: since if they have Truth on their side, nothing can do their Cause a greater kindness than mustering up those Reasons which oppose it. For Truth, the more 'tis try'd, the clearer and brighter it appears; especially if those who defend it have all the Advantages which Wit and Learning can afford. And they who are fond of Truth, will be so indifferent whether any particular Opinion be

be true, as to imbrace all Opportunitys of having it fairly debated. And whosoever takes a contrary Method, 'tis plain that somewhat beside a Regard to Truth does influence him: and if in this case the Lust of Power prevails, and the Author for his Love to Truth and Zeal for the Church by Law establish'd, be so unhappy as to fall under the Displeasure of some Ecclesiasticks even of the National Church, for striking at their Great *Diana*, he hopes the Laity will take him into their Protection, and not discourage, as they have hitherto done, abler Pens from engaging on their side against their mortal Enemys, who claim an Absolute Uncontroulable Power over their Minds, and by consequence over their Persons and Estates: which had not obtain'd, as it does in most places, had not the Laity been highly instrumental in putting on their own Fetters, and in ruining those who attempted to knock 'em off; whose Sufferings the Clergy then represented as the just Judgment of God, for having most Atheistically (nothing sooner giving a Man the Character of an Atheist than being an Enemy to Priestcraft) oppos'd their Sacred Authority. But shou'd he be ever so much expos'd to the Malice of such Men, who almost as seldom want the Power as they do the Will to crush all that oppose their Interest, yet nothing can deprive him of the inward Satisfaction he finds in endeavouring to promote the Spiritual as well

well as Temporal Welfare: of Mankind,  
in opposing a Doctrine which has in  
a great measure made ineffectual that  
Angelick Wish, of *Glory to God on High,  
Peace on Earth, and Good Will towards  
Men!*

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